

WHAT IS
THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT?

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By
Ernest Cadman Colwell



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PREFACE

THE University of Virginia in 1947 invited me to deliver a series of lectures on the manuscript sources of the New Testament. These lectures were given as the James W. Richard Lectures in Christian Religion in the autumn of that year. The present volume is a rewriting and enlargement of the Richard Lectures.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank President Colgate Darden of the University of Virginia and Professor S. V. McCasland for the many courtesies shown me in Charlottesville.

I must acknowledge also my indebtedness to scholars from many countries whose labors have supplied the material which is here presented. My association with these scholars in the study of New Testament manuscripts has been an exceedingly pleasant one; and I hope that they will tolerate this effort to make scholarly lore intelligible to the layman.

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EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA
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CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| I. WHICH NEW TESTAMENT DO YOU READ? <i>An Introduction</i> | 1 |
| II. THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS IN GREEK: <i>The Origin of the Received Text, A.D. 1500-1633</i> | 10 |
| III. THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS THE FIRST ONE PRINTED IN GREEK: <i>The Reign of the Received Text, A.D. 1633-1831</i> | 16 |
| IV. THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS THE OLDEST ONE: <i>A.D. 1831-80</i> | 21 |
| V. THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS THE ONE WITH THE BEST FAMILY TREE: <i>A.D. 1880-1925</i> | 34 |
| VI. RECENT DISCOVERIES | 45 |
| VII. THE HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS TODAY | 51 |
| VIII. THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT MUST BE CHOSEN VERSE BY VERSE: <i>A.D. 1925-50</i> | 72 |
| IX. HOW ACCURATE IS YOUR NEW TESTAMENT? | 85 |
| X. THE BEST IS STILL TO BE: <i>A.D. 1950—</i> | 105 |
| APPENDIX: RULES FOR CHOICE | 111 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 116 |
| INDEXES | 121 |

Chapter I

WHICH NEW TESTAMENT DO YOU READ?

An Introduction

WHAT kind of Bible do you read? Don't answer this by saying, "Why, I just read the Bible!" or "My New Testament is *the* New Testament!" If I ask you what kind of automobile you have, you won't answer, "Why, I just have an automobile!" or "My automobile is *the* automobile!"

You might answer the automobile question more intelligently by saying, "I have a convertible," or "a four-door sedan," or "a coupé." So you might answer the question about the New Testament by saying, "I have an authorized New Testament," or "I have a modern-speech New Testament," or "I have a Roman Catholic New Testament."

But the question about the automobile can be answered only by mentioning the make of car you own. So if somebody asks you, "What kind of car do you have?" you say, "I have a Buick," or "a Chevrolet," or "a Chrysler." If you are asked, "What kind of New Testament do you have?" your answer should be just as explicit. "I have a King James," or "a Goodspeed," or "a Westminster," or "a Moffatt."

As a matter of fact, the proud automobile owner will include in his answer the year in which his car was made. "I have a 1951 Ford," he says. The owner of the latest model has learned from reading the ads that this model has features

that were never dreamed of in earlier models. Cadillacs did not have fishtails with rear lights in them until recently. Dynaflo did not flow in Buicks until a year or two ago. The Oldsmobile was not Hydra-Matic before the war. You stepped up—not down—into prewar Hudsons. You could wear a hat in the 1942 Mercury. The model makes a difference in automobiles.

It makes a difference in New Testaments, too. There were thousands of changes made in some of the printings of Challoner's New Testament. Equally large changes have been made in many printings of the King James New Testament. The twenty-fifth anniversary edition of Goodspeed makes a number of changes from earlier printings. You have to know the make and the year of your New Testament.

A six-year-old boy sitting on your front porch on a summer afternoon will spot the cars going by and tell you the year and the make with unfailing accuracy. He knows their earmarks, their distinguishing features of shape, color, and equipment. If a six-year-old can do that, an adult should be able to identify an English New Testament when it is put into his hands. Or, rather, he would be able to do this if he paid as much attention to New Testaments as he pays to automobiles. And he would be able to do it even if the more obvious identification marks were removed, just as the boy of six doesn't have to read the emblems to tell a Ford from a Chevrolet. The adult has paid so little attention to his New Testament that he is not likely even to know where to look to find the labels that might tell him what kind of New Testament he owns. Because of the owner's lack of concern with this question, sometimes publishers omit labels, and

sometimes the labels are not so accurate as they might be. You may, for instance, go into a bookstore and ask for and pay for a King James Bible. If, by some strange chance, you were shown a King James, you wouldn't want it unless you were looking for a museum piece. What you would get would be a King James 1951—about as much like a King James 1611 as the 1931 Ford is like a Ford of 1951.

The recognition of different "makes" of New Testaments does not require antiquarian or technical knowledge. It requires knowledge of a few features that may be found on the title-pages of New Testaments. To help you out in the task, we present the commonest New Testament earmarks.

For modern editions of the King James Version the best mark of identification is the phrase, "Translated out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised." Further King James marks are: first, the date, A.D. 1611, *without any later date*; second, the use of the words "Authorized Version," as in the Scofield Reference Bible; third, a preface addressed to King James; fourth, the phrase, "by His Majesty's special command, appointed to be read in Churches," and the words *cum privilegio* in printings made in England.

If you will read the title-page of the first printing of the King James Version, you will see the source of these identification marks.

THE
HOLY
BIBLE,
CONTEYNING THE OLD TESTAMENT,
AND THE NEW.
Newly Translated out of the Originall
tongues & with the former Translations

diligently compared and revised. by his
 Maiesties speciall Comandement.
 Appointed to be read in Churches.
 Imprinted at London by Robert
 Barker, Printer to the Kings
 most Excellent Maiestie.
 Anno Dom. 1611

The King James Version was revised three times by authorized groups of scholars—in 1881, 1901, and 1946. The 1881 edition is the English Revised Version. It carries on the title-page the date, "Revised A.D. 1881."

The 1901 revision is called the "American Revised Version." Its title-page carries the statement: "Newly edited by the New Testament Members of the American Revision Committee A.D. 1900 Standard Edition. . . ."

The 1946 revision is called the "Revised Standard Version," and the title-page carries these words and the words "revised A.D. 1946."

If your New Testament has on the title-page, or on one of the opening leaves, the word "Imprimatur," it is a Roman Catholic New Testament. In past generations the commonest of these was Challoner's edition of the Rheims New Testament. The Rheims Version itself was made in 1582, but it is used today only in Challoner's revision. Challoner himself published various editions from 1749 to 1752. There are two thousand variations in the wording between these two editions. Challoner's revision can be identified by the presence of his name on the title-page.

Challoner's edition of the Rheims Version is being supplanted in England by two recent versions, one made by Father Ronald Knox (1944); the other, the Westminster

Version (1913-35). The Knox version carries the translator's name at the end of the Preface; the other is labeled "Westminster Version." In America, Challoner is being supplanted by two versions, Spencer's (1937) and the Confraternity Version (1941). Each of these is labeled clearly on the title-page:

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOR
JESUS CHRIST

Translated into English from the original Greek by
the VERY REVEREND FRANCIS ALOYSIUS SPENCER, O.P.

edited by

CHARLES J. CALLAN, O.P., and JOHN A. MCHUGH, O.P.

and

*Edited by Catholic scholars under the patronage
of the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity
of Christian Doctrine.*

Both the Confraternity and the Westminster versions are group translations.

The following are seven of the popular Protestant "modern-speech" translations:

- 1903, R. F. Weymouth
- 1898-1901, Twentieth Century
- 1895, Ferrar Fenton
- 1913, Moffatt
- 1923, An American Translation (Edgar J. Goodspeed)
- 1923, Riverside (William G. Ballantine)
- 1924, Centenary (Helen Barrett Montgomery)

Almost every one of these has been revised and improved in subsequent editions; for example, there was a fifth edition of Weymouth by J. A. Robertson in 1943 and a new edition of Goodspeed in 1948. These revisions are all identified as

such, usually on the copyright page in the copyright and printing date or, more rarely, on the title-page. A later date usually means a better "model."

A recent translation of the New Testament is *The New Testament in Basic English*, which was published in 1941. This version is an effort to present the New Testament in the smallest possible number of different or "basic" English words. Its title-page is plainly labeled.

There are, then, many "models" and "makes" of New Testament. Which of the many varieties available to people today are the best?

The devout Christian wants his own copy of the New Testament to be the best. "Best" here does not mean best in the quality of its paper, printing, or binding; it means the clearest and most readable, but, above all, the most dependable text. The accuracy of its wording is important to him, even if he has always taken it for granted. When argument or study or curiosity brings to his attention another New Testament which differs from his own, he wants to know which is the better of the two. If he has learned that there are numerous forms of the New Testament, he wants to know which is the best of all—the most accurate translation of the most authentic texts.

I shall discuss in the following pages the accuracy and authenticity of Greek and English New Testaments and the scholars' search for standards by which to judge and so give meaning to words such as "best," or "accurate," with regard to various New Testaments. I shall talk about specific translations and the texts on which they are based, and I shall give a ranking of available translations. But I warn you now

that the best we have is not so good as it could be if the modern world had given a fraction of the attention to the quality of its New Testament that it has given to the quality of its automobiles.

The labor involved in the effort to construct an accurate New Testament is tremendous. Not even seven maids with seven mops could clear the ground for the preliminary studies that still need to be made.

Scholarly work is occasionally justified (if I may misuse a New Testament term) as being the exercise and application of the individual scholar's curiosity. He is curious about something which he likes to study, and therefore he studies it. This type of justification is not adequate as justification for trying to find the best New Testament.

The work that now confronts us in this field is not work into which individuals can casually stroll. It requires co-operation in planning and co-operation in execution. Moreover, while it does not require the million-dollar tools with which physicists now work, it does require sums too large to be justified by the preference of an individual scholar. Two examples may suffice to show this.

British and American scholars are launching a new research project in this field. They plan to collect all the variant readings of New Testaments from twice as many sources as are now available. The use of microfilm will facilitate this work; the co-operation of qualified workers is being secured. But the work in this country alone will cost about \$50,000 a year for ten years, without including the costs of publishing the results—and those costs would be very high. Again, the University of Chicago has a large collection of manuscripts of the New Testament. It has the personnel to study them, but

the series of publications that would make these documents available to scholars would use the income from an endowment of a half-million dollars. Similar and equal needs exist elsewhere. Even more costly is the expenditure of the time of student and scholar.

The justification for all this lies in the realm of Christian faith and Christian history. Textual criticism, it is true, is not the most important kind of criticism. It is like the foundation of a building—it exists to make higher criticism possible, just as the foundation of a building exists to make the building possible. It establishes the relative accuracy of the wording of the earliest records of the life and teachings of Jesus and of his first followers.

To the Christian this is important. As in Judaism, so in Christianity—religion is rooted in history; it is born in an event. That event for the Christian is the historical fact of Jesus. The supreme devotion which Christians give to their Lord rests upon their conviction that, through him, God can be known.

It is often assumed by the ignorant and uninformed—even on a university campus—that textual criticism of the New Testament is supported by a superstitious faith in the Bible as a book dictated in miraculous fashion by God. That is not true. Textual criticism has never existed for those whose New Testament is one of miracle, mystery, and authority. A New Testament created under those auspices would have been handed down under them and would have no need of textual criticism.

In reality, textual criticism belongs to those who believe that God's revelation in Jesus should be and must be subjected to the criticism of reason. Textual criticism finds no sup-

port in the cult of ecclesiastical obscurantism. On the contrary, it exists for those Christians who believe that the revelation of God in Jesus is in what he actually did and in the words he spoke. To know those deeds and words as accurately as man can through tedious and painstaking study, through the exercise of the best of scholarly judgment—this justifies textual criticism. So long as men find a supreme value in the fact of Jesus, so long textual criticism will be worth while. And since it serves not mystery but knowledge, since it relies not on miracle but on study, since it appeals not to authority but to reason, it deserves the attention of reasonable people everywhere.

This book tries to tell the story of textual criticism, of what has been found in the search for the best New Testament. This story could begin at any time after the second century, but we begin it about A.D. 1500 in the middle of the story. From then to modern times the details of the story are clear and definite, and with the help of "flashbacks" some knowledge of the earlier period can be communicated.

Chapter II

THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS IN GREEK

The Origin of the Received Text *A.D. 1500-1633*

ONCE upon a time everybody who knew anything knew Latin. This was true in western Europe in the year 1500. In that year an Englishman who bought a Bible bought a Latin Bible. A Frenchman who bought a New Testament bought a Latin New Testament.

Today we know that doctors' prescriptions are written in Latin, but we don't know the Latin in which the prescriptions are written. A few of us struggled with Julius Caesar through a war in Gaul and with the varied uses of the ablative absolute. But a world in which all scholars and professional men used Latin is an alien world to us, a foreign land whose nature we cannot easily imagine.

Yet this Latin world was the home of the New Testament in the West from the fifth century to the sixteenth. In the earlier centuries there were various forms of the Latin New Testament, but, from the fifth century on, one particular form gradually won general acceptance. This came to be called the "Latin Vulgate New Testament" or "the commonly accepted New Testament." Through a period of ten centuries the devout Christians of western Europe used the

Latin Vulgate as their Bible. The printing of books began about the middle of the fifteenth century with the printing of the Latin Bible. At that time few people would have thought of printing the Bible in any language other than Latin.

But it was not long before another language began to capture the interest of Western scholars. This language was Greek. Crusade and conquest—the uprooting power of war—dislodged from the eastern Mediterranean Greek manuscripts, and Greek scholars who could read them, and brought them both to Europe. The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 was an important cause of this movement. The works of classical antiquity were thus seen again “in the original Greek”—as opposed to medieval Latin versions. An enthusiasm for Greek sources spread through western Europe, and, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, plans were being made to print the New Testament in Greek.

The motive for this was not always clearly stated. Basically it was the desire for a more “original” New Testament, for a “better” New Testament. At a time when Greek originals had more prestige than Latin translations, Christian scholars decided that the New Testament also should be printed in its original language. The first step toward improving the dependability of the New Testament was to go back of its Latin dress to the language in which it first circulated: Greek.

The honors for the first edition of the New Testament in Greek have to be divided between two men. The first of these to begin work *printed* his Greek New Testament two years and two months before the second, but the second *published* his Greek New Testament four years before the first. In their case was the Scripture fulfilled that the first shall be last and the last first.

In the year 1502 the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (Ximenes), planned the printing of the entire Bible in several languages. His New Testament volume, which was printed first (January 10, 1514), contains the Greek text and the Latin Vulgate text in parallel columns. His Old Testament was completed in 1517 in four volumes and as many languages. The printing was done at Alcalá, whose Latin name is Complutum. Hence this edition was known as the "Complutensian Polyglot Bible," or the "many-language Bible of Alcalá." This edition is one of the most beautiful Bibles ever printed.

But, unfortunately, Ximenes had borrowed some manuscripts from the Vatican Library and had not returned them promptly. The bad habit of failing to return borrowed books on time is not a modern habit. In the case of the Complutensian Polyglot the penalty was delay in publication. The pope, Leo X, would not authorize the publication of the work until the manuscripts had been returned to the Vatican Library. This was done by March 22, 1520.

Meanwhile, Froben, an enterprising publisher in Basel, Switzerland, decided to try to scoop the Spanish edition. He persuaded Erasmus to take the task of preparing the copy for the printing of the New Testament in Greek. Erasmus worked in haste and with consequent loss of quality. He completed the job in six months; and his edition was published on March 1, 1516, with his own Latin translation of the Greek. Thus the work of Erasmus could be purchased several years before the Complutensian New Testament was put on sale, though the Complutensian was printed before the 1516 edition of Erasmus.

Both Ximenes and Erasmus made extravagant claims for

the quality of their work. The Spaniard claimed to have consulted the oldest and most correct copies. In effect he said, "Anyone who wants a dependable Bible finds it here and nowhere else." Erasmus asserted that he brought the New Testament back to the truth of the Greek, to agreement with the original Greek.

In reality, these editors did not use many manuscripts, and the ones they did use were late in date. These late copies contained the Greek New Testament in the corrupt form in which it had circulated in the Byzantine world throughout the later Middle Ages. Of the two editions, the better is the Complutensian Polyglot, which was prepared with considerable care.

Carelessness is the characteristic of the Erasmian edition of 1516. Erasmus used a manuscript as copy for the typesetter, making a few occasional corrections from another manuscript. The manuscript which was his sole source for the Book of Revelation was torn at the end, lacking 22:16-21. Erasmus blithely supplied the missing Greek by retranslating the Latin Vulgate into Greek. The haste with which the whole thing was done is reflected in numerous editorial and typographical mistakes. When Erasmus was attacked because his Greek lacked words which the Latin contained in I John 5:7-8, he is said to have replied that he would print them in the Greek if anyone could show them to him in a Greek manuscript. Before 1522 someone showed them to him in the Montfortianus manuscript, and he inserted them in his third edition. The manuscript shown him was written in the sixteenth century—some have cynically supposed, just for the purpose of convincing Erasmus. It is more probable that the passage in question relating to the "Heavenly Wit-

nesses" crept into this manuscript (and the one other Greek manuscript which contains it) out of the Latin Vulgate. In any event, Erasmus inserted it, and it remained in the New Testament in Greek and in English for more than three centuries.

But the copies of Erasmus' New Testament were in the market first. His book was small and relatively cheap, and, moreover, there could be no question but that it contained the New Testament in Greek. The publishing venture was a success. Erasmus himself put out four revisions of his work without improving it very much, but each of these sold well. As a result, his New Testament influenced later New Testaments very extensively.

Later editors did little more than reprint Erasmus. Thus Robert Stephens (Stephanus), whose edition of 1551 first supplied the New Testament with verse division, relied on Erasmus' fifth edition (1535). Stephanus claimed that his editions were based on the oldest manuscripts—manuscripts almost worthy of adoration. He did include in the margin some readings of two old manuscripts, but he based his editions on Erasmus.

One of the editions of Stephanus was used as the main source for the various editions of the Greek New Testament published by Theodore Beza at Geneva. His work is of interest historically because it was used by the British revisers who published the King James Version in 1611. The Elzevir brothers of Leiden and Amsterdam reprinted Beza, who had reprinted Stephanus, who, in turn, had reprinted Erasmus. Their work was done in a convenient size and sold at a reasonable price with great success. In the Preface of their second edition (1633) they assured the reader that he now had the

text of the New Testament received by all—*ab omnibus receptum*. From this boast, this Greek New Testament came to be called the "Textus Receptus," or the "Received Text."

The Textus Receptus has a dozen or so other names, among them the "Greek Vulgate," "Ecclesiastical Text," "Syrian Text," "Koine (Common) Text," "Byzantine Text," and "Traditional Text."

This Textus Receptus was in reality the Greek New Testament in the form in which it had circulated widely at the end of the Middle Ages in the Byzantine East. Its various editors, from Erasmus to Elzevir, relied on manuscripts no earlier than the tenth century; they used few manuscripts, and those carelessly.

But they printed the New Testament *in Greek*! The current enthusiasm for original languages and for Greek in particular lent prestige to their editions. "Now," these editors said to their customers, "you have a more dependable New Testament because you have the New Testament in Greek."

Chapter III

THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS THE FIRST ONE PRINTED IN GREEK

The Reign of the Received Text

A.D. 1633–1831

EARLY in the eighteenth century a British scholar complained that the New Testament was much worse off than the classics. The works of the heathen authors had been full of errors when they were first printed—twenty thousand errors was his guess. But, after a hundred years of printing, scholars undertook new editions, and the twenty thousand errors were corrected and the heathen texts improved. But the New Testament, likewise full of errors when first printed, was still full of errors because the same text was still being reprinted. After a hundred years all that scholars could do for the New Testament was to put the corrected readings in the margins.

These bold statements were published by Richard Bentley in 1720. He also asserted that it was regrettable that Stephanus had become a "Protestant pope." All this is found in his *Proposals for Printing a Critical Edition of the New Testament*. Bentley wrote at about the midpoint of the reign of the Received Text, which had been dominant more than a century when he wrote. In spite of his protest it continued dominant for more than another century. From 1633 to 1831

the editors of the Greek New Testament "kept to the first published text."

Thus, for two hundred years, the *Textus Receptus* reigned supreme. In England it appeared in the form of the third edition of Stephanus; on the Continent it ruled as the second Elzevir edition. Whenever and wherever the Greek New Testament was printed, it was printed in the form of the Received Text. When the British and Foreign Bible Society was established at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it adopted the Received Text for publication as its Greek New Testament.

These centuries saw the beginnings of progress toward a better New Testament, but no real progress. At the end of the period the Greek Testament still meant only one thing to the Western world: a reprint of the Received Text. Thus one might say that the dogma of this period was that the text already printed was superior to the manuscripts which disagreed with it.

Part of the defense for this position was an appeal to the prestige of the familiar. But another part was the support given to the readings of the Received Text by the mass of the manuscripts known in these centuries.

The popular slogan was: "Use that New Testament which is supported by the majority"; or "The best New Testament is the one which has the largest number of adherents among the manuscripts." This inevitably meant a decision in favor of a late medieval form of the New Testament, a form corrupted by insertions and harmonizations. There are hundreds and hundreds of Greek manuscripts written after the tenth century. There are fewer than a hundred of any extent written before the tenth century.

The champions of the Received Text presented vigorous arguments in support of its use. They claimed that the Holy Spirit would not permit the church to accept an inferior or corrupt text. They pointed out that no record exists of the making of this text or of its adoption by the church. This indicated, they felt, that it never had been "made" but was primitive in origin and in its use by the church. They indicted other New Testaments with heresy. And they never wearied of pointing out that a majority of the manuscripts in Greek and in other languages and a majority of the Church Fathers supported this Greek New Testament.

This last argument is the only objectively supported one in the list. From a certain point of view, this argument is based on custom and recent usage. Why is it that the New Testament published by Erasmus and his successors in the sixteenth century is generally supported by the mass of manuscripts? The answer is because Erasmus chose the current form of the New Testament to print. Actually, he did not exercise much choice but printed what lay at hand. What lay at hand were copies typical of the late medieval text; most of the New Testament manuscripts are late medieval; therefore, the texts of Erasmus and of Elzevir agreed with the majority of manuscripts.

The champions of the *Textus Receptus* claimed that the sheer number of the witnesses to this commonly used New Testament was decisive in its favor.

Some scholars were restive under the rule of the Received Text; but, where they were not convinced by its supporters, they were either timid or cautious. When they printed the Greek New Testament, they printed the Received Text.

In 1628 a famous patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril Lucaris,

presented an ancient Greek manuscript of the New Testament to King Charles I. Within thirty years the evidence of this fifth-century copy of the New Testament was made available in a Polyglot Bible published by Brian Walton. But Walton printed the Received Text as the New Testament itself, and the passages in which this ancient witness differed were printed in the lower margin.

As more and more manuscripts of the New Testament came to light, the example of Walton was followed almost without exception. John Mill, in 1707, put in the margins evidence drawn from a hundred manuscripts, but he printed Stephanus' third edition as the text. J. J. Wettstein, in 1752, quoted variants from three hundred manuscripts, but he also printed the Received Text as the authentic reading.

As early as 1734 J. A. Bengel published a Greek New Testament which added to the evidence printed by Mill. But to the modern reader the strangest feature of his edition is the curious classification of passages from the manuscripts which differed from the Received Text. He records five types of variation. His first class, (alpha) he labeled "genuine"; his second (beta) was "better than the readings in the text"; his third (gamma) he called "equal to the readings in the text"; his fourth (delta) was "inferior"; and his fifth (epsilon) was "not to be approved." By using the first five letters of the Greek alphabet, he indicated his evaluation of the variant. Thus, even though he had a reading which he judged to be original or at least better than that found in Stephanus, he still printed Stephanus as the New Testament and put the better reading in the margin.

Bengel is distinguished among the forerunners of modern scholarship in this field for two other reasons. He stated cer-

tain rules or "canons" of study for the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament. One that won general favor was: "The difficult reading is to be preferred to the easy reading." This recognized the tendency of early copyists to explain obscurities and remove difficulties which they regarded as due to some earlier blunder. Bengel created another precedent by grouping the manuscripts of the New Testament into an African group and an Asiatic group. The treatment of manuscript evidence in large groups, as we shall see in our discussion later of types of text, became the habit of scholars for a century and a half after his time.

Bengel's work was advanced by J. J. Griesbach, who published editions of the Greek New Testament from 1774 to 1806. Like Bengel, he favored ancient witnesses, he cited manuscripts in groups, and he stated rules for evaluation of evidence. He himself investigated more than half a hundred manuscripts. But the text which he printed was essentially the Received Text. The results of Griesbach's work appeared in the margins, in introductions and appendixes, and in essays. In all this, Griesbach is in harmony with the other subjects of the *Textus Receptus* who lived between 1633 and 1831. "The best New Testament," they said to their readers, "is the first one printed."

Chapter IV

THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS THE OLDEST ONE

A.D. 1831-80

THE rebel who first made a frontal attack on the reign of the Received Text was a professor of the classics, Karl Lachmann, who began publishing the Greek New Testament in 1831 and continued through 1850. He ignored previous printings and based his text on the evidence of the ancient sources. This meant that he ignored the mass of late Byzantine manuscripts as well as the *Textus Receptus*. He aimed at printing the Greek New Testament as it existed in the fourth century.

He put primary emphasis on the antiquity of his witnesses. Copying causes errors and corruptions. Copying for only four centuries causes fewer errors than copying for twelve to fifteen centuries. If you have witnesses to the New Testament as it existed in the fourth century and this fourth-century New Testament is the ancestor of your twelfth-century New Testament, why do you bother to study the twelfth-century New Testament? Lachmann did not bother. He limited himself to the ancient witnesses.

Where these differed from one another, he put a premium on agreement of witnesses from geographically remote areas. He also preferred the reading supported by the ma-

jority or totality of ancient witnesses. The latter argument was clear and well known before Lachmann's day. But the geographical argument as he stressed it was relatively new. If evidence from the eastern end of the Mediterranean agrees with evidence from the western end, this evidence, says Lachmann, is to be trusted. The assumption was that the East and the West were too isolated to borrow from each other and that their agreement was due to their common inheritance from the original New Testament.

In his talk of the evidence of regions, Lachmann was referring not to individual manuscripts but to the evidence of groups of manuscripts. He recognized two main groups: the oriental and the occidental. But he identified regional subgroups within these.

Yet, for much of his New Testament, he had little more than one or two manuscripts to depend on. He did not have enough ancient witnesses to support the application of his theory to the evidence. This dearth of knowledge about ancient manuscripts was the greatest weakness of his work.

This lack was made up almost single-handed by the gigantic labors of Lobegott ("Praise God") Friedrich Konstantine von Tischendorf, who straddles the middle of the nineteenth century like a colossus. He published twenty-four editions of the Greek New Testament from 1841 to 1873. He stated rules for the evaluation of evidence with great clarity and insight. He collected new evidence from manuscripts previously known in part. He published the evidence of many others which he himself discovered on his travels.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, late director of the British Museum, in his *Story of the Bible* summarizes Tischendorf's work as follows:

He discovered for the first time eighteen uncial [early, large-letter] manuscripts (all except five being mere fragments) and six minuscules [later, small-letter manuscripts]; he was the first editor of twenty-five uncials (all fragments); he edited afresh eleven others, some (such as the Vaticanus, Ephraemi, Claromontanus and Laudianus) of first importance; he transcribed four more and collated thirteen. With the exception of Alexandrinus and Codex Bezae, there was no uncial manuscript of real importance to the knowledge of which Tischendorf did not contribute in a greater or less degree.

The classic story of manuscript discovery is Tischendorf's account of the finding of the celebrated Codex Sinaiticus, told in his work published under this name. The manuscript to which he gave the name "Codex Sinaiticus" was a Greek Bible on parchment written in the first half of the fourth century.

It was in April, 1844, that I embarked at Leghorn for Egypt. The desire which I felt to discover some precious remains of any manuscripts, more especially biblical, of a date which would carry us back to the early times of Christianity, was realized beyond my expectations. It was at the foot of Mount Sinai, the Convent of St. Catharine, that I discovered the pearl of my researches. In visiting the library of the monastery, in the month of May 1844, I perceived in the middle of the great hall a large and wide basket full of old parchments; and the librarian, who was a man of information, told me that two heaps of papers like these, mouldered by time, had been already committed to the flames. What was my surprise to find amid this heap of papers a considerable number of sheets of a copy of the Old Testament in Greek, which seemed to me to be one of the most ancient that I had ever seen. The authorities of the convent allowed me to possess myself of a third of these parchments, or about forty-three sheets, all the more readily as they were destined for the fire. But I could not get them to yield up possession of the remainder. The too lively satisfaction which I had displayed had aroused their suspicions as to the value of the manuscript. . . .

On my return to Saxony there were men of learning who at once ap-

preciated the value of the treasure which I brought back with me. I did not divulge the name of the place where I had found it, in the hopes of returning and recovering the rest of the manuscript. . . .

Having set out from Leipzig in January 1853, I embarked at Trieste for Egypt, and in the month of February I stood for the second time in the Convent of Sinai. This second journey was more successful even than the first, from the discoveries that I made of rare Biblical manuscripts; but I was not able to discover any further traces of the treasure of 1844. I forget: I found in a roll of papers a little fragment which, written over on both sides, contained eleven short lines of Genesis, which convinced me that the manuscript originally contained the entire Old Testament, but the greater part had been long since destroyed. . . .

By the end of the month of January [1859] I had reached the Convent of Mount Sinai. The mission with which I was entrusted [by the Emperor of Russia] entitled me to expect every consideration and attention. The prior, on saluting me, expressed a wish that I might succeed in discovering fresh supports for the truth. His kind expression of good-will was verified even beyond his expectations. . . .

After having devoted a few days in turning over the manuscripts of the convent, not without alighting here and there on some precious parchment or other, I told my Bedouins, on the 4th February, to hold themselves in readiness to set out with the dromedaries for Cairo on the 7th, when an entirely fortuitous circumstance carried me at once to the goal of my desires. On the afternoon of this day I was taking a walk with the steward of the convent in the neighborhood, and, as we returned, towards sunset, he begged me to take some refreshment with him in his cell. Scarcely had he entered the room, when, resuming our former subject of conversation, he said, "And I, too, have read a Septuagint"—*i.e.* a copy of the [Greek] translation [of the Old Testament] made by the Seventy. And so saying, he took down from the corner of the room a bulky kind of volume, wrapped up in a red cloth, and laid it before me. I unrolled the cover, and discovered, to my great surprise, not only those fragments which, fifteen years before, I had taken out of the basket, but also other parts of the Old Testament, the New Testament complete, and, in addition, the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Pastor of Hermas. Full of joy, which this time I had the self-command to conceal from the steward and the rest of the community, I asked, as if in a careless

way, for permission to take the manuscript into my sleeping chamber to look over it more at leisure. There by myself I could give way to the transport of joy which I felt. I knew that I held in my hand the most precious Biblical treasure in existence—a document whose age and importance exceeded that of all the manuscripts which I had ever examined during twenty years' study of the subject. I cannot now, I confess, recall all the emotions which I felt in that exciting moment with such a diamond in my possession. Though my lamp was dim, and the night cold, I sat down at once to transcribe the Epistle of Barnabas. For two centuries' search had been made in vain for the original Greek of the first part of this Epistle, which has only been known through a faulty Latin Translation. . . .

Early the next morning Tischendorf sought permission to take the manuscript to Cairo, only to find that the prior had already left for Cairo and that no one of the monks would give his consent. Two days later Tischendorf himself set out for Cairo and gained permission from the prior to have the codex brought to him.

With the manuscript once more in his hands, Tischendorf set himself to the task, with the help of two Germans residing in Cairo, of transcribing the entire codex.

When the transcription was finished, he asked for permission to take the manuscript to Russia, in order that he might present it to the emperor. Once again Tischendorf found his wish denied, this time because of ecclesiastical politics. After a lapse of more than seven months, however, the permission which he sought was given; and on November 19, 1859, he was at last able to present the Sinaitic Bible to their Imperial Majesties at the Winter Palace in Tsarkoe Selo.

The manuscript stayed in St. Petersburg for some time. The monks "gave" it to the czar, and the czar "gave" the monks about seven thousand dollars and a large number of

imperial decorations or "orders." In the early 1930's a Communist Russian government in need of funds sold the manuscript to the British Museum for £100,000.

Tischendorf used all the knowledge he gained from Sinaiticus and the other manuscripts he studied. In the first place he used it to guide his judgment as to what the original wording of the New Testament was. In the second place he recorded this evidence in an "apparatus" below the text. His "eighth large critical edition" (1869-72) is his most important effort to do these two tasks. The reader devoid of Greek and Latin cannot easily interpret the technical symbols that crowd the pages of Tischendorf's New Testament. Yet the layman deserves an explanation of the nature of the evidence that is recorded there. What are the variant readings like? What are some of the significant ones?

Many of the variant readings in the manuscripts are trivial chaff. The chaff is composed largely of differences in spelling, in word order, or in small matters of grammar. It took the printing press to regularize spelling. Our manuscripts spell *David* as *Daveid*, *David*, *Dabid*, etc. Some scribes prefer *Hierosoluma*; others *Hierousalem*, but they are both *Jerusalem* to us. Some spell *John* with one *n*; some use two. *Straightway* can be spelled two ways. The long *e*-sound (as in *beet*) had at least six spellings in the centuries in which our manuscripts were written. Double consonants for single, and vice versa, are exceedingly common. The two spellings of the *o*-sound interchange frequently. Sometimes the spelling variants represent possible alternative forms in the "original text." Often they are of value only for the history of the text in some particular period.

The least significant of all these minutiae is the presence or

absence of the Greek letter nu (ν) in verb endings before words beginning with vowels. This usage has an analogue in the New England habit of saying, "The idear of it." On this no scribe's usage consistently agrees with that of any editor of a printed text. This inconsistency created variations that have been eagerly sifted for significance by many workers in this field, especially by the eager novice—as yet, however, without results. The hope that this might provide a dependable clue to the kinship of manuscripts has not been realized.

Differences in word order are almost as common as variants in spelling. In Mark 1:5 these words occur: "and were baptized *by him [John] in the Jordan river.*" The italicized words appear in the following forms: (a) "by him in the Jordan river"; (b) "by him in the Jordan"; (c) "in Jordan by him"; (d) "in the Jordan by him"; (e) "in the Jordan river by him"; and (f) "into the Jordan by him." Differences of word order in Greek are not so significant as they are in English, but, as we shall see later, they sometimes affect the sense of a passage.

Sometimes these transpositions combine with small grammatical changes (as in the tenses of the verb) to produce a multiplicity of readings in a single passage. In Mark 11:2 the disciples are sent for a colt that has never been ridden. These variants occur: (a) "on which no one not yet of men rode"; (b) "on which not yet no one of men has ridden"; (c) "on which no one of men not yet has ridden"; (d) "on which no one of men has ridden"; (e) "on which no one never of men rode"; (f) "on which no one of men rode not yet"; (g) "on which no one of men rode"; (h) "on which no one of men not yet rode"; (i) "on which no one of men never has ridden"; and (j) "on which not yet no one of men has ridden

upon." The double and triple negatives are legitimate devices in Greek for emphasizing that this colt really had not been ridden at all. But which way did Mark write it?

Granted that some transpositions in order are more important than those indicated above, it is still true that the most important variants are those which involve the presence or absence of a passage or the substitution of one passage for another. Tischendorf's work called attention, probably more effectively than any other, to the presence of spurious materials in the New Testament. His influence has been profound—much progress has been made in the establishment of a more authentic text, but printers and publishers continue to distribute, and the public to accept, variants which show the question of authenticity is still in need of attention.

Which of these various New Testaments do you read? Do you read one in which the Lord's Prayer ends "... but deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever, amen"? Or does the prayer end with "... but deliver us from evil"? This has significance for the understanding of Jesus. In the first case Jesus must have intended to dictate a formal prayer; in the second, he was giving an example of a good prayer. In the first, "the power and the glory" must be important attributes of God; in the second, they are not mentioned. Which Lord's Prayer do you read (Matt. 6:13)?

Did the Voice from Heaven at the baptism say, "This is my Beloved Son" or "You are my Beloved Son"? There are Gospels of Matthew that read the former and others that read the latter (Matt. 3:17).

Did Jesus reproach the Pharisees and the Sadducees with their ability to forecast weather from the color of the sky?

Or did he not? It depends on which New Testament you read (Matt. 16: 1-4).

When Pilate offered to the mob the release of the prisoner of their choice, was the name of the one "Jesus Barabbas," or just "Barabbas" (Matt. 27: 16-17).

In Jesus' famous diatribe against the Pharisees, did he reproach them with devouring widows' houses, or not (Matt. 23: 13)?

Does the first mention of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark read "the good news of Jesus Christ" or "the good news of Jesus Christ the Son of God" (Mark 1: 1)?

Does Mark introduce the quotations from Malachi and Isaiah with the words "just as it is written in Isaiah the prophet" or with "as it is written in the prophets" (Mark 1: 2)?

Does the strong saying about fire, "For every one shall be salted with fire," continue with the words "and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt" (Mark 9: 49)?

Did Jesus ask the "rich young ruler" to take up his cross, or were these words missing from the invitation to the young man to follow him (Mark 10: 21)?

In some New Testaments these words are found near the end of the Gospel of Mark: "And these signs shall accompany them that believe—in my name they shall cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall pick up snakes; and if they drink any poison it will not hurt them at all. . . ." Fanatical cultists in our southeastern mountain regions caress venomous snakes and feed one another doses of poison to prove their faith in the Scriptures. But which Scriptures? Many ancient New Testaments—among them those generally reputed to be the best—lack the verses on poison-

drinking and snake-cuddling altogether. If the citizens of Tennessee and Georgia had chosen these New Testaments, they would not have picked up rattlesnakes and drunk poison, and more of them would be alive today. It makes a difference which New Testament you choose (Mark 16:16-18).

The hymn of the angels to the shepherds in the fields is familiar to many of us in the form "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." In some ancient New Testaments this appears as "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased" (Luke 2:14).

How familiar is this story? "On the same day observing a certain one working on the Sabbath, He said to him, 'O man, if you really know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are accursed and are a transgressor of the Law.' " In one of the ancient New Testaments this follows Luke 6:4, the account of the disciples plucking grain on the Sabbath.

The account of the Lord's Supper in the Gospel of Luke describes the order of events as cup, bread, and cup. The second cup, however, does not occur in some New Testaments (Luke 22:17-20).

Well known to readers of the Gospels is the moving story of a woman taken in adultery and brought to Jesus by his enemies for judgment. Not so well known are the variations in its location. In many New Testaments it follows John 7:53; one New Testament has it after John 7:36; a family of hand-written Gospels places it after chapter 21 of the Gospel of Luke; several New Testaments (including some in Ar-

menian) include it at the end of the Gospel of John. A large number of New Testaments do not contain it at all.

The strife between the more conservative apostles and Paul was settled, according to the Book of Acts, by a council in Jerusalem and the promulgation of the so-called "Apostolic decrees," which were written out in a letter to be sent to the churches outside Palestine. The great issue concerned Christian obedience to Old Testament laws, particularly those relating to diet. In some New Testaments the few prohibitions that are insisted on include animals that have been strangled; others omit this but include the Golden Rule in the following negative form: "And whatsoever you do not wish to happen to yourselves, do not do to another" (Acts 15:28-29).

Even Paul's great hymn to Christian love did not escape variation. In I Cor. 13:3 the change of one letter (a Greek theta to a kappa) changes "And if I give my body to be burned . . ." to "And if I give up my body that I may boast. . . ." The latter form suggests that not only are the man's possessions given away but even his own body is given into slavery—a different service from the fiery martyrdom indicated in other New Testaments.

Someone has changed the address on a New Testament letter: either it was addressed "to saints that are in Ephesus and to the faithful in Christ Jesus," or the address was more general and read "to the saints who are faithful in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 1:1). It depends on which New Testament you choose.

No number is as well known as the number of the Beast in the Book of Revelation. Yet some Books of Revelation give it as 616, instead of the more common 666 (Rev. 13:18).

Irenaeus, writing in the second century, claimed that 666 was Noah's age at the time of the flood plus the height and width of the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar. To more modern interpreters, it has meant Mohammed, Pope Benedict IX, any pope, Martin Luther, the NRA, etc. During the first World War a citizen of Chicago wrote a colleague of mine, pointing out that the German Kaiser's name added up to 666. If Comrade Stalin be transliterated into Greek numerals, he can be added up to 616¹ but not to 666.

This is the kind of evidence that Tischendorf listed in a technical shorthand in his great eighth edition. For each of these variations he indicated the manuscript sources, known at that time, in which it was found. But it is fair to ask how he decided which of the alternatives to take as the reading of his text.

He followed Lachmann in ignoring the early printings and basing his text on the evidence of the manuscripts. His rules can be summarized under six heads.

1. The text is to be sought only from ancient evidence, and especially from Greek manuscripts, but without neglecting the testimonies of translations and Church Fathers.

2. A reading altogether peculiar to one or another ancient document is suspicious, as also is any (even if supported by a class of documents) which seems to show that it has originated in the revision of a learned man.

3. Readings, however well supported by evidence, are to be rejected when it appears that they have proceeded from errors of copyists.

4. In parallel passages, whether of the New or the Old

1. By using kappa as an initial for "comrade" and spelling the second syllable of Stalin with the diphthong epsilon-iota, as some scribes would.

Testament, especially in the first three Gospels, those testimonies are to be preferred in which there is not precise accordance of such parallel passages, unless there are important reasons to the contrary.

5. In discrepant readings, that reading should be preferred which may have given occasion to the rest, or which appears to comprise the elements of the others.

6. Those readings must be maintained which accord with New Testament Greek or with the peculiar style of each individual writer.

From these statements it is clear that Tischendorf did not regard groups of witnesses as of prime importance. He had studied enough manuscripts to become aware of the differences that exist within groups. In fact, he insisted that even single manuscripts were not "all of one piece." But it is equally clear that he preferred ancient witnesses to later ones, and his work so increased common knowledge of ancient witnesses that their significance could no longer be ignored. As a result, the Received Text wobbled badly on its throne, for the work of Lachmann and Tischendorf went far toward convincing the church that the "best New Testament is the oldest one."

Chapter V

THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT IS THE ONE WITH THE BEST FAMILY TREE

A.D. 1880–1925

THE arguments against the Received Text grew in number and vigor in the generations following Lachmann. The claim that the Holy Spirit would not allow the church to accept a corrupt New Testament is contradicted by the testimony of Augustine and Jerome as to the corruption of the Latin New Testament in their days.

The claim that the Received Text could not have been a “made” text because the church had no record of its making does not take other similar situations into account. We have no record of the making of the pre-Vulgate Latin versions, but they were made and used by the church. There are two distinct ancient translations of the Book of Daniel into Greek. One is the Septuagint version, the other Theodotion’s. The earliest Christian Fathers who wrote in Latin quote from the Septuagint version. That is true, for example, of Tertullian. But, by the beginning of the fourth century, the Latin Fathers are all quoting the Book of Daniel from Theodotion’s version— even though they quoted every other book in the Old Testament from the Septuagint version. Jerome comments on this as a fact universally known but has no

explanation to offer. In this case the church changed from one translation to another without leaving any record of the change or its occasion. The attention of the church has never been centered on textual criticism.

The claim that heretics created the variant readings is disproved by their use by the most orthodox of the Church Fathers.

But the argument that really dethroned the Received Text and gave it the *coup de grâce* is the family-tree argument, which is presented in the following pages. As a matter of fact, Lachmann's argument for the superiority of the ancient witnesses is a variation of the genealogical argument. We should prefer the older manuscripts to the newer ones, he says, because the older ones have gone through fewer generations of copying and are therefore less corrupt than their tenth-generation descendants. Implicit in his work is the assumption that we have in our extant fourth-century witnesses the ancestors of the vast mass of our later manuscripts. If you have the purer ancestors, why bother with the more corrupt descendants? The more ancient manuscript is better because it is closer to the source.

The man who used the genealogical method to give the *coup de grâce* to the Received Text was Fenton John Anthony Hort. With Bishop Westcott he published the Greek New Testament in 1880 with a volume of explanation of the materials and methods employed. This statement became the authoritative exposition of the correct method of reconstructing the text of the New Testament.

The classic definition of genealogical method is that given by Westcott and Hort: "The proper method of Genealogy consists . . . in the more or less complete recovery of the

texts of successive ancestors by analysis and comparison of the varying texts of their respective descendants, each ancestral text so recovered being in its turn used, in conjunction with other similar texts, for the recovery of the text of a yet earlier common ancestor."¹

This definition implies that the student of New Testament manuscript history will carry on his work by constructing a family tree of the New Testament manuscripts, beginning

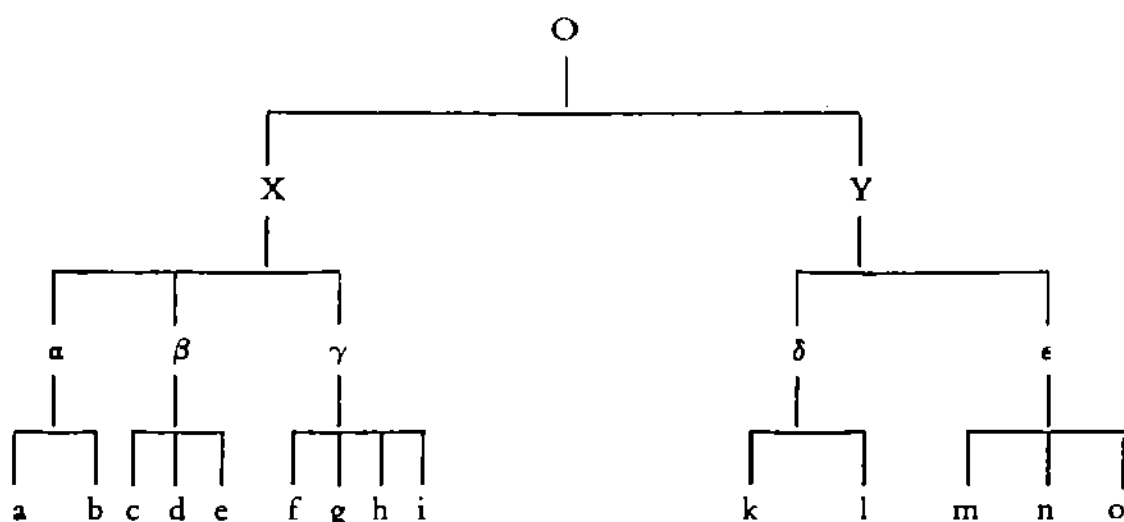


FIG. 1

with the mass of late copies and working back through successive generations of ancestors to the original text. That this is actually what Westcott and Hort meant when they spoke of "the proper method of Genealogy" is shown by the diagrams which they employed as illustrations.

Note first their example of simple or divergent genealogy (Fig. 1). The lower-case English letters in the figure represent extant manuscripts; all other symbols indicate reconstructions. It should be noted that this pedigree is analogous

1. Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1882), p. 57.

to the family tree of a human family in which descent is traced *through males alone*.

Westcott and Hort wrote with two things constantly in mind: the Textus Receptus and the Codex Vaticanus. But they did not hold them in mind with that passive objectivity which romanticists ascribe to the scientific mind. That is to say, they did not hold them in mind as a chemist might hold two elements constantly in the focus of his attention. The sound analogy is that of a theologian who writes on many doctrines but never forgets Complete Depravity and the Election of the Saints. As in theology, so in Hort's theory, the majority of individuals walk through the broad gate and are lost souls; a few only are elected. Westcott and Hort preferred the text supported by a minority, by a famous Vatican Library manuscript and a few of its friends; they rejected the reading of the vast majority.

As the justification of their rejection of the majority, Westcott and Hort found the possibilities of the genealogical method invaluable. Suppose that there are only ten copies of a document and that nine are all copied from one; then the majority can be safely rejected. Or suppose that the nine are copied from a lost manuscript and that this lost manuscript and the other one were both copied from the original; then the vote of the majority would not outweigh that of the minority. These are the arguments with which Westcott and Hort opened their discussion of the genealogical method. If diagrammed, they look like Figure 2. They show clearly that a majority of manuscripts is not *necessarily* to be preferred as correct. It is this a priori possibility which Westcott and Hort used to demolish the argument based on the numerical superiority of the adherents of the Textus Receptus.

The work of Hort finished the reign of the Received Text and put another—the Westcott and Hort text—in its place. For half a century the theory and method of Hort were followed even when their application was questioned.

B. H. Streeter in 1925 printed a chart of Hort's theory, which is reproduced here as Figure 3. The "Neutral Text" of the chart was the one that Hort held to be the least corrupted, and he therefore used manuscripts that he found to be of this

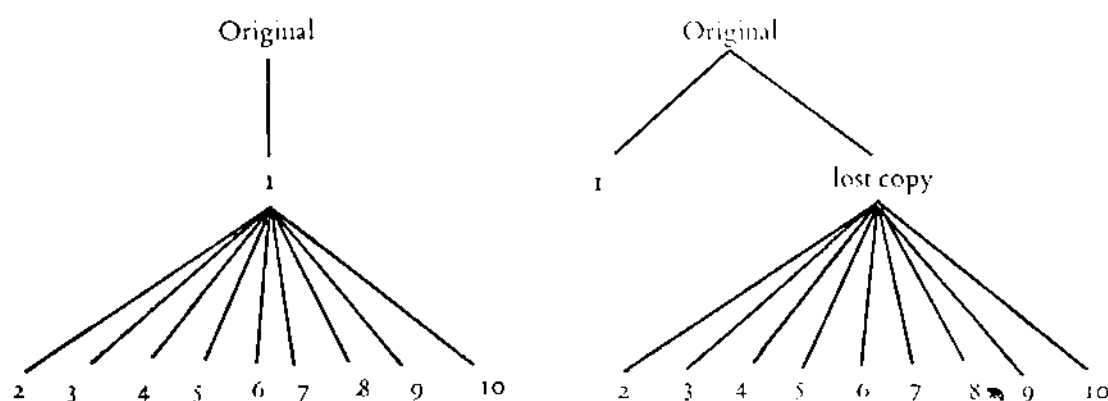


FIG. 2

type as his base for reconstructing the original New Testament. The leading witness to this text-type is a famous manuscript in the Vatican Library which is usually referred to under the symbol "B," or as "Codex Vaticanus."

In simple terms, the genealogical method traces ancestry back from the mass of late manuscripts, through families (of as much as three or four generations' duration) to tribes, through tribes to nations to text-types, such as the "Neutral Text," the "Alexandrian Text," and the "Western Text." Then it is assumed that the agreement of two out of three of these types will take us back to the original New Testament.

(It must be understood that Fenton John Anthony Hort never said anything as crudely simple as this. In the next chapter he explains the limitations on this method *in certain circumstances*. But this crude simplicity is fair to many of his followers and of his critics.)

(II) WESTCOTT AND HORT'S THEORY

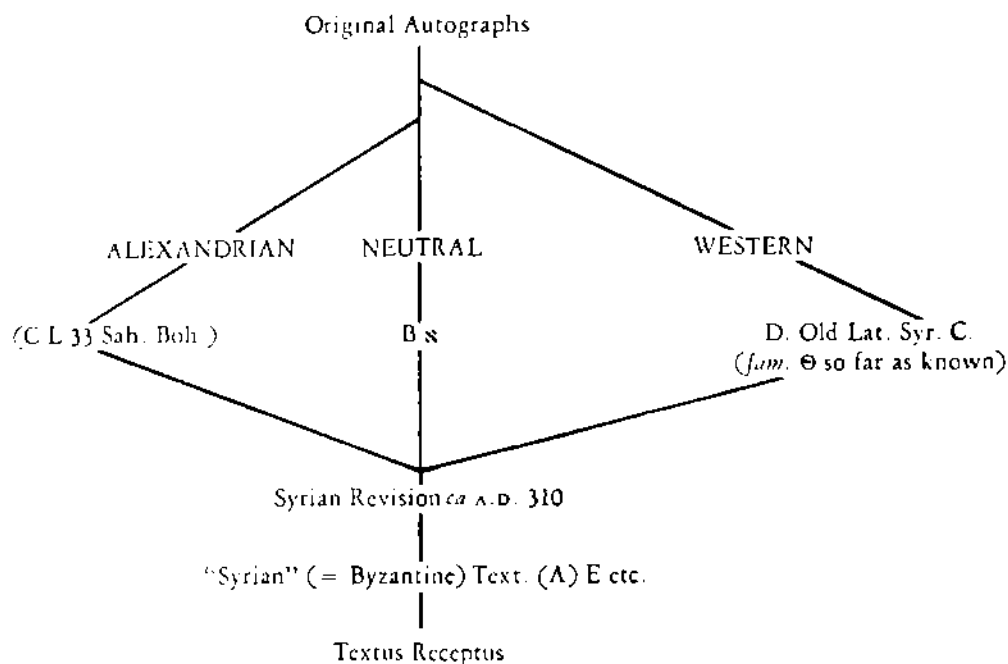


FIG. 3.—Westcott and Hort's theory

This argument demolishes the plea for the oldest witness. It is true that it argues for the older witnesses. Hort argued that the Received Text was the child of the three mentioned above, since it blended some of their readings, and that it therefore could be ignored. But, as among these three, excellence is not established by priority in date. Hort plainly admitted that the Western witnesses were as old as, and more numerous than, the ancient witnesses to the Neutral Text. But, by an intricate and circuitous argument, he claimed

that the genealogical method proved the superiority of the Neutral Text.

His conclusion was generally accepted. This is not altogether due to the convincing nature of his arguments. His arguments were so involved and obscure that many students failed to refute them because they were mentally exhausted in the effort to understand them. Moreover, it happened that other criteria than Hort's demonstrated the superior quality of the witnesses he called "Neutral." Thus some scholars agreed with his results without much enthusiasm for his methods.

Hort published his text without citing the manuscript evidence along with the text, although he did cite the evidence for some noteworthy readings in an appendix.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Hermann Freiherr von Soden attempted to fill in this gap and to improve on Hort's text by the use of the genealogical method. Subsidized by a wealthy widow, he published a text with manuscript evidence (1902-13). Like Hort, he argued that existing manuscripts could be classified in three major text-types. Unlike Hort, he did not explicitly champion one of the three, but his rules led him indirectly to champion the *Textus Receptus*.

Von Soden's rule was to follow the agreement of two out of three of his text-types. But if we assume with Hort that the Received Text is the child of the other two and that it inherited its father's eyes and its mother's ears, then we get the eyes and ears of the Received Text in our finished product. This "two out of three" majority, when the Received Text is one of the three, gives it the deciding vote in most passages.

For Von Soden the bad boy of the manuscript world was a Syrian named Tatian, who in the second century wove the Four Gospels into one continuous and harmonious narrative. Von Soden assumed that Tatian was universally influential. So he decided that any reading that agreed with Tatian was to be rejected. Since he had Tatian's text only in a translation of a translation, this second rule of his added a certain whimsicality to his New Testament. Thus, although he followed the genealogical method, he produced a text closer to the Received Text than to that of Hort and a text that is generally admitted to be very uneven in the quality of its readings.

Hort's method and his text were championed by many of the scholars who worked in this area from 1880 to 1925. Caspar René Gregory was one of the greatest. In his manual he says he naturally follows Hort's method and reconstruction, since it is the best in existence. Similar sentiments can be found in a score of manuals, including those of Sir Frederic Kenyon and Edgar J. Goodspeed.

Hort's method was used in 1925 in a more complex reconstruction of the ancestry of our New Testament manuscripts by B. H. Streeter, who, as Figure 4 shows, interposed local text-types as a stage on the way to the great types established by Hort.

The four preceding answers to the problem of the best New Testament were derived from a study of the history of the New Testament manuscripts. The "best New Testament is in Greek"; "the best New Testament is the first one printed in Greek"; "the best New Testament is the oldest one"; "the best New Testament is the one with the best family tree"—these answers all come from a study of the history of the

Greek New Testament. Each period drew different conclusions from this study; but they all rested upon historical investigation.

Hort, for example, who championed the genealogical method, insisted that knowledge of history must precede

(I) THE THEORY OF "LOCAL TEXTS"

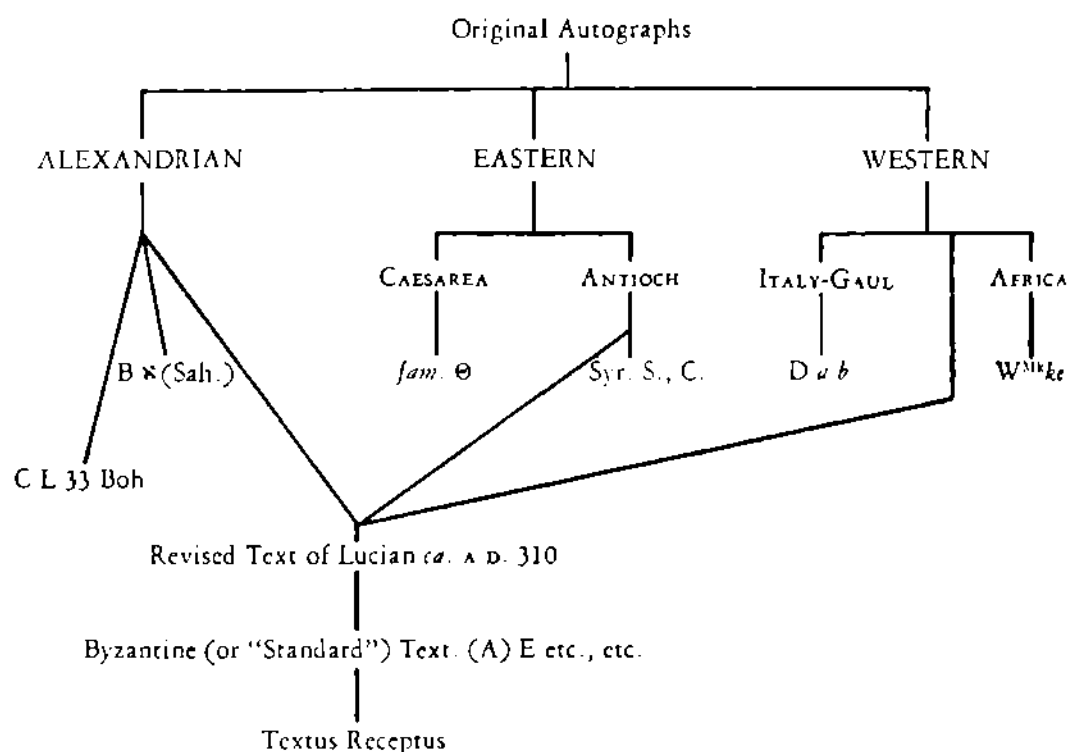


FIG. 4.—Streeter's theory of "local texts"

judgment of individual manuscripts. His own reconstruction of the history of the copying of the New Testament went something like this:

The original New Testament was copied in an uncontaminated form in a small group of manuscripts, which are therefore called the "Neutral Text." The original New Testament was being copied at the same time with considerable contamination in a group of manuscripts which included many

Latin sources, which are therefore called the "Western Text." The Neutral Text was polished up and "improved" in many passages to form what Hort called the "Alexandrian Text." From these three sources, editors in successive revisions produced the Syrian Text and the Received Text.

The primacy of the Neutral and the Western was shown not only by the great age of the witnesses that contained them but also by the fact that they were (according to Hort) unedited texts. Hort himself frankly admitted that, when the genealogical method has traced a family tree back to two branches, it cannot trace it further to the original stem. This method requires at least three sources to work on. The agreement of two against one is due to the common ancestor of all three. But where two differ and there is no third witness, the difference could be due to error on the part of either. If there be but two sources and they disagree, genealogy cannot choose between them. Or in Hort's words: "Where the two ultimate witnesses differ, the genealogical method ceases to be applicable, and a comparison of the intrinsic general character of the two texts becomes the only resource."²

When Hort compared the Neutral and the Western, he found the Neutral clearly superior to the Western in many passages. He went on to claim its superiority in passages where the evidence was not too clear. In other words, he assumed a general superiority on the basis of a partial superiority.

During this period some scholars disagreed with Hort's estimate of the Neutral Text but still used his method. Most of the champions of the Western Text are basically genealo-

2. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

gists until they reach the last two branches. Then they insist, against Hort, that the Western is the trunk and that the Neutral is the divergent, "edited" branch. H. A. Sanders and H. C. Hoskier and a half-dozen others belong here.

F. C. Burkitt and a few others clung to Tischendorf's suspicion of text-types of any kind and emphasized internal evidence and transcriptional probability. They are the forerunners of the most recent scholarly position. But they were dissenters from the majority opinion in the years 1880-1925. In those years most scholars said, "The best New Testament is the one with the best family tree."

Chapter VI

RECENT DISCOVERIES

SINCE Hort finished his work, many manuscripts have been discovered and studied. The evidence of these new discoveries indicates that the so-called "Neutral" manuscripts are relatively the best manuscripts. But the new evidence has slowly convinced students that there was no pure channel, no uncontaminated text-type. It is generally admitted now that the Neutral manuscripts may owe some of their excellence to editorial work.

Even more impressive is the new evidence that there are no pure manuscripts—that all manuscripts are contaminated in the sense that each represents more than one channel of descent. This makes it impossible to trust one particular manuscript throughout its content, even though it may be demonstrably good in 80 per cent of its content. All these apples have rotten spots in them—or at least one rotten spot.

The manuscripts that have been discovered since Hort rival the great finds of the nineteenth century in drama, in variety, and in value for the reconstruction of the text. One of the most dramatic incidents was Edgar Goodspeed's discovery of the manuscript later to be known as the "Rockefeller McCormick New Testament" in an antique shop in Paris. Goodspeed had been introduced to manuscript lore by Caspar René Gregory, a Philadelphian who had gone abroad to assist Tischendorf and had become his successor as leader in the field of manuscript exploration. Gregory,

when a visiting professor at the young University of Chicago, had found the first Greek New Testament manuscript that started the Chicago collection. For a quarter of a century Goodspeed looked in vain for a New Testament manuscript to add to this collection. On numerous visits to Europe he ransacked bookstores and shops to no avail. On September 9, 1927, as he walked down the Boulevard Haussmann, his eye was caught by a fine Persian tile in a store window. He entered the store and, after concluding his inquiry about the tile, asked the clerk—more from habit than from hope—whether they had any manuscripts. The clerk replied that they had one Persian manuscript—would he care to see that? He would, but the clerk was unable to find it. One of the partners in the firm intervened, found the manuscript, and was impressed by Goodspeed's casual identification of its contents. "I also have a Greek manuscript," he said. "Would you like to see that?" Before the astounded Goodspeed, he unwrapped from a swathing of newspapers a thirteenth-century Greek Testament, bound in silver, and adorned with ninety miniatures, one of them a frontispiece on a purple leaf.

Important finds were not limited to illustrated Greek manuscripts like the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament. Students of the early versions of the New Testament discovered and published manuscripts that were much earlier, although less glittering. These included a twice-used manuscript of the Gospels in the Syriac language which carries our knowledge of that version back at least to the third century. In this manuscript the Gospels had been partially erased, and the material on which it was written used a second time. Other finds included a fourth-century manuscript of the

Gospel of John written on papyrus in the "sub-Akhmimic" dialect of Egypt and a manuscript of the Book of Acts only a little later in the language of Middle Egypt.

Of special interest to American readers was the discovery and purchase for America of a fifth-century Greek manuscript of the Four Gospels. This was discovered in Cairo in 1906 and was purchased by Mr. Charles L. Freer. Its text is a curious mixture of various text-types, and many scholars have studied it. It is now in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and is often referred to as the "Freer Gospels" or the "Washington Gospels."

Literally hundreds of later manuscripts of various sorts have come to light. I mention two from my own experience. In 1930 I followed Mr. Goodspeed's trail down the Boulevard Haussmann and stopped in the shop at which he had found the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament. A member of the firm received me affably, said that, of course, he had manuscripts of the New Testament, but unfortunately they were all out on approval. He would reassemble them promptly and show them to me on Wednesday. On Wednesday I saw three Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, two of which are now in the University of Chicago collection, and a fourth manuscript in Armenian, beautifully illuminated and miniatures, with a rich red background. The price asked for the Armenian manuscript was far above our resources; but nine years later, after the Hitler war had begun, the University of Chicago was able to purchase the manuscript at less than one-tenth of the price originally asked. We named it the "Red Gospels of Gan-jasar," and it has stimulated the study of the Armenian version and the training of young scholars in this field.

There was in the depression days in Chicago a famous Italian restaurant. One day an elderly Greek who did the cooking at this restaurant came to our campus. From under his arm he unwrapped a large book which when opened turned out to be a ninth-century lectionary, or pulpit Bible, in Greek. The manuscript had belonged to the cook's ancestors, who had salvaged it from the burning ruins of their local church, which had been pillaged by the Turks in the war for Greek independence. A member of the family brought the manuscript with him to Chicago and kept it in a chest at the restaurant. One of "Scarface" Capone's gangs, so the story goes, used to frequent this restaurant. When a new member was to be sworn in, the ancient Bible was drawn from its chest so that he might swear his allegiance on it. After we acquired the manuscript, we named it for the town from which it came—the "Argos Lectionary." But it will not surprise you to learn that it is known locally as the "Gangsters' Bible." The presence of this manuscript initiated a long series of studies of manuscripts of its type, which has greatly enriched our knowledge in this field.

But the most sensational discovery of the post-Tischendorf period was the discovery of the Beatty Papyri, purchased by Chester Beatty and published by the British Museum. This collection of ancient papyrus copies of the New Testament contains all or part of the following books: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, Hebrews, I and II Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, I Thessalonians, and Revelation. They range in date from about A.D. 200 to about 300. They are the most important single addition to our knowledge of the text in the early centuries.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, who edited the collection in London, published ten leaves of the letters of Paul, dating from about the year 200. The following year, 1935, Professor Sanders of the University of Michigan republished them with thirty more leaves of the same manuscript which his university had purchased in Cairo. Shortly afterward, Sir Frederic republished these forty leaves plus forty-six more of the same manuscript which had in the meantime been purchased by Beatty. Thus we now have an almost complete copy (86 of an original 104 leaves) of the letters of Paul and Hebrews from about the year 200. This is the oldest extensive manuscript of the Greek New Testament in existence today.

These manuscripts with the scores of others which were discovered and published after Hort's work was finished have convinced the workers in this field that Hort's Neutral Text was not neutral and that the mixture of ancestries was practically universal. These conclusions, while they do not invalidate the relative excellence of Neutral manuscripts, demand that that excellence be related to the history of manuscripts in a more satisfactory fashion.

The family-tree method as developed by students of the classics rested on identity in *error* as the clue to common ancestry. These errors were unintentional changes which can be identified objectively as error. Agreement in readings of this kind seldom occurs by chance or coincidence. The New Testament copies differ widely from copies of the classics at this point. The percentage of variations due to error in copies of the classics is large. In the manuscripts of the New Testament, on the other hand, scholars now believe that most variations were made deliberately. Assuming for the

moment that this is a fact, you can understand how easy it was for modern students, until they were on guard, to substitute agreement in variations for agreement in error. Agreements in error were too rare to be useful; intentional variants were too frequent to be ignored.

But this change in application greatly weakened the accuracy of the method. Scholars in the last generation have realized this. They reason as follows: Since the motivation for intentional change was generally present in the mind of each scribe, agreement in a reading could with little difference in probability be assigned to any one of three causes. Agreement could be due (1) to independent action on the part of two scribes; (2) to the preservation of the ultimate original through separate lines of transmission—lines separated soon after the original was written; or (3) to descent from a common immediate ancestor. But family trees need a surer base than this. Add to this the fact that copies of the classics are narrowly related in place and time and are limited in number, while copies of the New Testament are separated by the seas and by centuries and number many thousands, and you will understand the scholars' repudiation of the genealogical method.

Chapter VII

THE HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS TODAY

IF THE history of the manuscripts were being written today, it would go something like this. The Gospel which Mark wrote had been read to pieces by the time Mark died. The original manuscript of every book in the New Testament has perished; not one remains in existence. They all perished early. In the first few centuries no one claims to possess an original New Testament book. The famous church of St. Mark's in Venice once claimed to have the original of the Gospel of Mark in its possession. The manuscript in question was actually written in Latin, not in Greek, and consisted of a copy of Jerome's fourth-century revision of the older Latin translations of the Gospel of Mark. All other claims of this sort have been shown to be equally without basis in fact.

The originals perished; they perished early. There is nothing mysterious or puzzling about this. They were written on papyrus, a paper-like substance made of strips of the papyrus plant, laid crosswise and pasted together. The early manuscripts were written to be read. They were read until their pages fell out or were torn. Not all the early Christians could read, but they could listen. Reading in that ancient world was reading aloud. So clusters of Christians gathered around some literate brother to hear the gospel read. Reading became a habit of the new church. Its services were seldom completed without the reading of the Christian books.

The early Christians were all evangelists, and the rapid multiplication of their number created a demand for copies of these books. Many of them were travelers, and hence missionaries—with an even more pressing need for a copy of the book on which their faith had been nourished. Thus the originals of the New Testament books were copied before they perished. And in the first one hundred and fifty years of Christian history copies of copies multiplied.

CAUSES OF VARIATION

These copies were made without effective control and without adequate check for accuracy. With the multiplication of the copies went a multiplication of variations, some intended, some unintended. The first two Christian centuries witnessed the creation of the large majority of all variations known to scholars today.

The New Testament copies differ widely in nature of errors from copies of the classics. The percentage of variations due to error in copies of the classics is large. In the manuscripts of the New Testament most variations, I believe, were made deliberately. But, you ask, how could an honest and devout Christian scribe deliberately change the wording of the New Testament?

I. CORRECT DOCTRINE

The paradox is that the variations came into existence because these were religious books, sacred books, canonical books. The devout scribe felt compelled to correct misstatements which he found in the manuscript he was copying. If one of you were copying a description of a horse and found the statement that a horse had five legs, you would probably change it to four because you know that a horse has only four

legs. But you might not care enough about horses to change the wording of the manuscript you were copying. However, if you were convinced that the welfare of your country and your community and your own soul depended on the number of legs a horse had, you would correct it.

As the Christians in the second century copied the New Testament, they came across statements which they were sure were mistakes. The importance of the Book in their religious life led them to "correct" the mistakes. Unfortunately, they thought they knew more than they actually did, and thus, with the best intentions in the world, they corrupted the text of the New Testament. If my analogy of the horse is to be accurate, we must assume that you think that a horse has five legs. When, therefore, you come across the statement that it has four, you "correct the error" and give the horse five legs. The majority of the variant readings in the New Testament were created for theological or dogmatic reasons.

Most of the manuals and handbooks now in print (including mine!) will tell you that these variations were the fruit of careless treatment which was possible because the books of the New Testament had not yet attained a strong position as "Bible."¹ The reverse is the case. It was because they were the religious treasure of the church that they were changed.

1. See my *The Study of the Bible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 45 ff. The manuals on textual criticism by A. T. Robertson, A. Souter, F. G. Kenyon, and many others fall into this error. On the other hand, the position expounded above is taken by C. R. Gregory, *The Canon and Text of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907); Léon Vaganay, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, trans. B. V. Miller (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1937); Marie-Joseph Lagrange, *La Critique rationnelle*, Vol. II, Part II, of *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1935); and E. Jacquier, *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'église chrétienne* (2d ed.; Paris: Libraires Victor Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, éditeur, 1913), Vol. II.

Careless mistakes have little to do with the creation of these varying New Testaments. Christian faith and doctrine have much to do with it.

Pious devotion to the Scriptures is not in and of itself a guaranty of accuracy. The enthusiastic, uneducated, and undisciplined clergyman of today yields to no one in the degree of his devotion to the Sacred Book, but he will misquote it from memory in the pulpit or in his letters without realizing that he is doing so. He knows he has the central ideas straight because all his ideas are biblical ideas; this identification was drilled into his mind at the time of his conversion or in the routine of his theological education. With this conviction, he has little concern with exactness of wording or correctness in quotation.

Seniors in theological seminary preach a sample sermon before the faculty for the sake of faculty criticism. I remember one such sermon from my student days. The faculty critic said: "The passage which you quoted from Isaiah is in Jeremiah; your quotation from Paul is actually in the fifth chapter of Matthew; the words you attributed to the Gospel are borrowed from William Shakespeare; and your quotation from the Sermon on the Mount actually appears in a slightly different form in the Sermon on the Plain." Brother Smith believed in the inspiration of the Scriptures, and they had canonical authority for him. But these particular beliefs did not make him accurate in his use of scripture.

One religion did achieve a maximum of accuracy in the copying and quoting of the Scriptures. This was Judaism, for which Torah became the center and circumference of religion. Uniformity in the copying of the Old Testament was achieved by the Jews after their Temple was destroyed, their country taken from them, and their priesthood left without

function. This sequence is significant. In the period before the birth of Christ the evidence indicates that the Jews did not succeed in controlling the copying of the Bible. But with Temple and priesthood and government gone, the concentration of their interests upon the Scriptures led to an unparalleled accuracy in transmission.

The analogy for the early Christians is to be found in the modern preacher rather than in the rabbinic scribe. For these Christians the institutions of the church or individual experience held an authority comparable to that of scripture. Therefore, they used the "sense" of the scripture; they quoted it freely; they changed it to agree with what they felt sure it must mean. The earliest Christians whose writings have come down to us outside the New Testament are now called "the Apostolic Fathers." A committee of scholars at Oxford University went through their writings to identify their quotations from the New Testament. These were usually so free that the committee had to use four degrees of probability in making its report. Yet for many of these writers the Gospels, at the least, were scripture.

Look at the evidence from another angle. If being Bible guaranteed careful copying, then those New Testament books which first became Bible would have the smallest number of variations. The reverse is the case. The Gospels were the first Christian scripture and the most sacred Christian scripture. But the Gospels have more variations per square inch than any other part of the New Testament.

What we regard as freedom in the treatment of scripture, the early Christian regarded as obligation. Where the Christian books contained non-Christian teaching, either carelessness or the evil influence of heretics was unquestioningly assumed. Blemishes in copies of the Scriptures were intolerable

and were removed. Since these Christian scribes lacked the academic sophistication or the vocational skill required for the identification of blemishes in language or editorial work, they concentrated on the blemishes to which they were sensitive—blemishes in doctrine.

Take, for example, the harmonizations. Ninety-two per cent of the Gospel of Mark appears in the Gospel of Matthew, and much more than half of it appears also in the Gospel of Luke. In some New Testaments there are striking differences between the Gospels in these parallel passages. In others, all three of the Gospels agree. The “correction” of one Gospel by another is called “harmonization” by the scholars who work in this field. Why did the early Christian scribes harmonize the text of Mark into closer agreement with Matthew? Not because of some secular love of uniformity but because their doctrine of an inspired scripture could not easily endure these variations in different Gospel accounts of the same incident.

In the account of the healing of the man with the withered hand, Matthew’s Gospel reads: “Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thy hand. And he stretched it forth; and it was restored whole as the other.” Some copies of Mark’s Gospel read: “. . . he saith unto the man Stretch forth thy hand. And he stretched it forth; and his hand was restored.” Other copies of Mark add at the end the words “whole as the other” and thus agree with Matthew. Adequate motivation for harmonizing Mark and Matthew can be found in the Christian doctrine of scripture; no motivation for the creation of the variation by omitting these words is easily imaginable.

There are literally hundreds of these harmonistic readings

in the Gospels. While they are especially numerous in the first three Gospels, they are not absent from any of the four. The dominant Gospel was Matthew; consequently, the other Gospels are often corrected to agree more closely with it. But the Fourth Gospel also influenced the others. In the Johannine account of the baptism, for example, the distinguishing feature is that the Holy Spirit "abides" upon Jesus. In some New Testaments the words "and abiding" have been added to the baptism account in the first three Gospels, thus harmonizing them with John. Again, in one group of New Testaments the words of the Fourth Gospel, "But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a lance, and immediately blood and water came out" (John 19: 34), appear after Matt. 27: 49. This is a striking case of harmonization.

Harmonization also occurs between New Testament and Old Testament. In Matt. 15: 8 most New Testaments have a free quotation of Isa. 29: 13, but some New Testaments have corrected the quotation into exact agreement with Isaiah. In the beginning of Mark's Gospel some scribes changed "In Isaiah the prophet" to "in the prophets" because the quotation from the Old Testament which follows comes from two prophets, the first of whom is not Isaiah.

Interest in the New Testament *as scripture* was a primary motive for harmonizations of this type.

The doctrinal influence is more clearly seen in some other passages. A Christian scribe copying the Gospel of Matthew was surprised to find Jesus quoted as saying that the exact date of the end of the world was unknown to him: "But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only" (Matt. 24: 36). The scribe knew that "the Son" referred to Jesus; he knew

that Jesus was omniscient; therefore, he knew that someone had made a mistake in writing this sentence. So he corrected it by omitting the words "neither the Son." In making this change, he felt sure that he was restoring the original reading. Thus the content of the Christian faith directly affected the content of the Christian scripture.

Ecumenius, a Christian writer of the tenth century, was sure that the word "without" in Heb. 2:9 was a variant introduced by the heretic Nestorius: "so that without God he [Jesus] might taste of death on behalf of all." But the passage with this wording appears in Origen and in St. Ambrose and cannot easily be blamed on heretics.

In Luke's account of the Arrest (23:32), a statement is made which wounded the sensibilities of some devout Christians. "And also other criminals, two, were led away with him to be executed." This implication that Jesus himself was a criminal was avoided by some scribes who changed the word order of the Greek so that it read: "And also two others, criminals, were led away with him to be executed." Still other Christian copyists made the "correction" sure by omitting the word "criminals" altogether, so that the verse reads: "And also two others were led away with him to be executed." The Christian scribe felt sure that he had found a mistake when a Gospel even implied guilt in the sinless Christ.

In one copy of the Gospel of Mark, Jesus never speaks of the Cross. As a result, 8:34 reads: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and follow me." Likewise in the command to the "rich young ruler" (10:21) the exhortation to "take up his cross" is absent. The majority of the scribes felt sure that the longer form of the saying with its

reference to the Cross, so sacred to them, must be original, and they added the words from passages in Luke and Matthew.

Many Christians were dominated by prejudice in their attitude toward Jews and Judaism. This affected the content of the New Testament. In Matt. 1:21 most manuscripts read: "You shall call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people. . . ." The Christian who in the early centuries wrote one copy of the New Testament in the Syriac language knew that Jesus was meant to save the world rather than the Jews, and he "corrected" his copy of Matthew so that it read in conformity with his prejudice: ". . . for he shall save the world. . . ."

Not all the intentional changes made by Christian scribes are dipped as deeply in doctrine as the examples given above. Some are explanatory, parenthetical statements. Yet, to the believers, clarity is more important in the Scriptures than it is in history or poetry. In the thirteenth chapter of Mark there is an obscure reference to something called "the abomination of desolation." Many scribes in copying Mark borrowed from Matthew the explanation that this was that which Daniel the prophet had spoken of.

In the seventh chapter of Mark the Pharisees and some scribes attack Jesus because his disciples eat with defiled, that is, unwashed, hands. Palestinians or people familiar with Jewish custom would need no further explanation of "defiled hands." All manuscripts except one, however, add the following parenthesis: "(For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands diligently, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders; and when they come from the market place, except they bathe themselves, they eat not; and many

other things there are which they have received to hold, washings of cups and pots and brasen vessels.)” Even one manuscript that omits such an obvious parenthesis deserves consideration.

It is interesting to note that a similar gloss has been added in many manuscripts to part of Jesus’ defense of his disciples. In Mark 7:8 he says, “Ye leave the commandment of God, and hold fast the tradition of men.” To this a majority of extant copies add “washings of pots and cups and many other such things you do.”

There was therefore no one form of the New Testament that could be called the “second-century New Testament”; there was at that time no orthodox or dominant form of the text. The tremendous vitality of the Christian religion flowered richly and boldly in a variety of forms. This was true in church organization, in doctrine, and in the content of the New Testament. Agreement, conformity, and unity were achievements that came slowly, and never completely, to the Christian church.

II. CROSS-BREEDING OF MANUSCRIPTS

The complexity of the situation for the New Testaments was increased by cross-breeding. There was no thoroughbred register for manuscripts of the New Testament. A New Testament of one type might be corrected by one of a very different sort. This led to the creation of some new readings when the scribes blended the readings of the two manuscripts. It led also to a new pattern of variations as the scribe’s partial correction produced a New Testament which agreed with one manuscript in one verse and with another in the next. This mixture in quality in manuscripts is partly due to

the absence of single-volume New Testaments in the first two centuries. At the beginning, each book was copied as a single book and circulated alone. By A.D. 200, or soon after, the Four Gospels probably were copied together, as were the letters of Paul. But it is doubtful that any single book contained Gospels, Acts, and Paul much earlier than A.D. 300. When these books were put together into one book, they had various separate ancestries. Thus the fourth-century New Testaments resemble a freight train in which one car is New York Central, one is Pennsylvania, one is B & O, one is Atlantic Coast Line, etc. If you sampled the train in the B & O car, and said, "Boy! this B & O quality is wonderful! I'll take this train as the best train!" you'd be betrayed by the Pennsylvania and Coast Line cars.

This boxcar type of mixture occurred even in the Four Gospels. The celebrated Washington manuscript, the "Freer Gospels," from the late fourth or early fifth century in Egypt has this type of content. Matthew has the Byzantine text-type; John has the Neutral text-type; Mark 1:1—5:30 has an African text-type; Mark 5:31 to the end has the so-called "Caesarean" text-type; and Luke 8:13 to the end has the Byzantine text-type. This is boxcar mixture—mixture in large blocks.

But it is simple and unified compared to another and more common type of mixture which could be called repair-shop mixture. Suppose some wooden B & O freight cars were growing old; some of the slats that make up the sides of the cars were broken; some rotted; etc. The cars go to the shops. In the shops they have a lot of secondhand freight cars bought from the Pennsylvania Railroad. These are dismantled and used to patch the B & O cars, which are re-

turned to service. Again they wear out; again they go to the shops. This time the supply of repair parts comes from some old New York Central boxcars. The B & O cars are repaired and go back into service. After this has happened four or five times, no railroad detective could trace the ancestry of the train. This is the history of the Greek New Testament through the Middle Ages.

This mixture in ancestry and quality blocks the path to another solution—the retracing of the genealogy from children to parents to grandparents and so on back to the original. I am sure that the family trees can be cut down and used for firewood so far as the reconstruction of text-types is concerned. Each manuscript in a text-type has a stepfather as well as a father. Multiple or mixed ancestry is the rule in these groups. The separate manuscripts are no closer than forty-second cousins or great-great-uncles. This combination of promiscuity and gaps in the generations baffles the constructor of family trees. In short, we are dealing not with a family, close knit in intimate relationships, but with a nation, a nation to which immigrants have come from many countries. The Neutral text-type manuscripts, for example, are recognizably kinfolk because they have big ears, black eyes, and small feet. Some of them have big ears, blue eyes, and small feet; some have big ears, black eyes, and big feet. The confusion is compounded by the fact that some of these features appear among non-Neutral manuscripts. Genealogy will help us to reach some of the way stations; but it will never take us back through the jungle of mixture to the original New Testament.

Out of the chaos and confusion of the first few centuries complicated by this mixture of ancestral strains one finds a

tangle such as the mangrove creates with its jungle of roots on the shores of shallow bayous in Florida. By the fourth century, however, certain large trees appear, easily distinguishable from one another.

III. EARLY EDITORIAL WORK

These large groupings of manuscript New Testaments are usually called "text-types." They are the result not of chance but of intensive effort by individual Christians to reduce chaos to order and achieve some unity. They show by their nature that a strong hand shaped their beginnings. Editors did more extensive and more consistent work on the text than did the ordinary scribe. This work contributed some of the readings which we find in our various New Testaments.

This struggle for unity was going on at the same time in the realm of church order, doctrine, and canon. As in these other areas, so in the realm of the manuscripts, unity or agreement was attained in a limited area only. There never was one text-type for all Christendom.

There probably were at least four recognizable text-types in existence by the end of the third century. Each of them came into existence under definite limitations—limitation in the extent of the geographical area in which the text-type was dominant and limitation in the degree of uniformity achieved in making copies of the text-type. The text-types originated in particular cities and won their way slowly through one or more provinces. A text-type that was at home in the Roman province of Africa differed from the one commonly used in Italy, though both were written in Latin.

The text-type was supported by controls that were only moderately effective. It was therefore subject to modification

and change. If a text-type be regarded as similar to a modern book, then we must allow for a large number of revised editions. Sometimes these followed the general lines of the original form of the text-type, but more often they involved change under the influence of some other text-type. Thus the manuscripts of any one text-type differ quite extensively from one another and sometimes form subtypes. So generally is this true that it is more accurate to regard a text-type as a process than as a single event.

The text-type came into existence as the result of several historical developments which matured in the fourth century A.D. These developments were, in the order of importance: (1) the triumph of Christianity over its rivals; (2) linguistic isolation; (3) the growth of learning within the church; and (4) the strengthening of ecclesiastical authority.

The paramount importance for our subject of the recognition of the Christian religion by the state lies in the fact that this brought the New Testament to the attention of the publishing industry. It was the entrance of the New Testament into the commercial book trade which did more than anything else to standardize its wording and improve the accuracy with which copies were produced. The publishers tried to get accurate or official copies from which to work; they transferred the New Testament from papyrus to parchment; they equipped it with the book paraphernalia of introductions, text divisions, indexes, etc., which the Greeks and Latins had developed in the publication of their classics. Above all, they applied to the copying of the New Testament certain mechanisms which insured at least a modicum of accuracy in scribal work.

It could be assumed that each text-type as it developed

from the second through the fourth centuries became the standard New Testament of a particular region, a local text-type or a regional text-type. But this requires the isolation of the entire region throughout the period. It must be isolated to begin with, so that only one form of the New Testament enters the region; it must continue to be isolated to keep out alien New Testaments which might contaminate the original text of the region. But the Christians in these centuries were the original tourists. They went everywhere, and they took their own New Testament with them. It would have required a large and effective customs force to have maintained a local text-type in a position of dominance.

No single New Testament was the source of all the New Testaments used by the Christians of any one area in the first four centuries. We know a lot about New Testaments in Egypt in this period, for Egypt's climate preserved the paper copies which elsewhere rotted away. The New Testaments which have been found in Egypt belong to all the known text-types. Even after the fourth century, when one text-type outnumbers all the others, the others are still there.

Even in the backwoods more than one type of New Testament was known. In the backwoods of Syria, for example, the Christians' isolation was increased by their ignorance of the Greek language and by their use of Syriac. Yet even here, where most of the evidence has perished, we know of two text-types and of two forms of one of them. About the middle of the second century a young Syrian named Tatian, a pupil of Justin Martyr's at Rome, merged the Four Gospels into one continuous narrative and translated it into Syriac. This became exceedingly popular in Syria, and many of the early Fathers who wrote in that language quote it. But by the

end of the second century another Syriac version of the four separate Gospels was being circulated in Syria. Two forms of this exist today.

IV. TRANSLATIONS

By the time the apostle Paul found his martyrdom the overwhelming majority of the Christians spoke Greek, either as a native tongue or as a second language. Our earliest Christian inscriptions are in Greek, no matter what part of the Roman world they come from. Even in Rome itself Greek was the language of the Christian church past the middle of the second century. But as Christian missionaries pushed beyond the cities into small provincial villages, the demand for a New Testament in the native tongue of these new converts increased. By the year A.D. 200 the New Testament was available in Latin, in Egyptian, and in Syriac. The gradual decline in knowledge of Greek among Christians contributed to the development of particular forms of the New Testament in several languages.

Translating the New Testament, even when it is done with care, creates new variations in its content. Many of the early translations were not made with much care. Augustine says of the making of the early Latin translations:

For the translations of the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, but Latin translators are out of all number. For in the early days of the faith every man who happened to get his hands upon a Greek manuscript, and who thought he had any knowledge, were it ever so little, of the two languages, ventured upon the work of translation.²

It is interesting to note that one of these Latin versions is probably the longest form of the Gospels in existence, while an equally ancient Syriac translation is the shortest form in existence.

2. *On Christian Doctrine* ii. 11. 16.

Sometimes the translator creates a reading unwittingly. In the account of the Lord's Supper in the King James and Revised Versions (Matt. 26:27) the Lord says to his disciples as he hands them the cup, "Drink ye all of it!" I have in my files sermons on this text which expound it as an exhortation to *complete* devotion, devotion unto death; "drink the cup to the dregs" is the meaning of this version to many educated ministers. Their trouble is that they know neither Greek nor the South. The "ye all" in this verse is the southern "you all." It meant in the Gospel what it means in the South: "all of you." To avoid creating a new reading, Weymouth and the Twentieth Century New Testament translate, "Drink from it, all of you"; Goodspeed reads, "You must all drink from it"; and the Revised Standard Version has, "Drink of it, all of you."

Other variants created by translators are less innocent. The latest revision of the American Standard New Testament often smooths out the language of the original beyond recognition; especially is this true in the Gospels of Mark and Luke. The "and . . . and . . . and" of Mark's Gospel is polished up to suit sensitive English ears and leaves no trace of the style of the original for the student of Mark. Likewise the "and it came to pass" of the older version—which actually exists in the New Testament itself—was dropped. My own pet aversion is the omniscient translator's insistence on translating a word which had no meaning for the readers of the Greek New Testament. A good example is the familiar "Verily, verily I say unto you" from the English versions of John's Gospel. What John's Gospel says is: "Amen, amen, I say unto you. . . ." The word "Amen" was as foreign and as obscure in this connection to the early Christians who read Greek as it is to you. That was why John employed it on the

lips of Jesus and nowhere else. But translators must make the uneven places plain, and they conjecture an adverbial force for this word which cannot be supported by a single parallel from New Testament times. When the American Standard Revision was in process, I had hopes that this particular variation from the New Testament would be removed. The revisers had the courage to change it, but only from the sonorous "Verily, verily" to a lukewarm and effeminate "Truly, truly, I say unto you."

V. THE STANDARD OR VULGATE TEXTS

Editors and translators create "standard" editions which spread a particular pattern of variations widely but check the development of new variations. A few editors tried to standardize the New Testament as early as the second century. A Greek-Latin manuscript from the fifth century which is supported by some copies of second-century Latin translations contains one of the earliest standard texts. This particular type is harmonized and inclusive—long rather than short. It is a part of what used to be called the Western Text. But standardization began to succeed about the end of the fourth century, progressed unevenly through the Middle Ages, and found its period of greatest success from the invention of printing in the fifteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century. The earliest datable standard version was the revision of the earlier Latin versions made by Jerome at the request of Pope Damasus about A.D. 380. Jerome claimed that, when he began his work, there were as many different forms of the Latin New Testament as there were individual copies. To reform the Latin New Testament by making a new revision was one thing; to get it universally used, an-

other. More than a score of Latin manuscripts containing a pre-Jerome Latin form of the New Testament are known today. Every one of these was written one or more centuries after Jerome's work was finished. Worse than that, the readings of the older manuscripts crept into the copies of Jerome's work itself. The triumph of this Latin Vulgate New Testament was gradual and partial; it reached its climax in the days of the Counter Reformation. In A.D. 1546 by a vote of the majority of the clerics assembled at Trent it was decided that Jerome's Latin revision was *the* New Testament.

Early in the fifth century A.D. an energetic leader of the Syriac-speaking church prepared a new form of the Syriac New Testament. With the aid of the hierarchy in Syria, earlier forms of the New Testament were collected and destroyed. One bishop reported that he found and destroyed over two hundred copies of Tatian's harmonized Gospel. In this liquidation of competing forms of the Bible, and in the care with which the new standard version was copied, the Syrian Christians are very similar to the Jewish scribes who worked on the standard form of the Hebrew Old Testament. This fifth-century Syriac New Testament, called "Peshitta" or Vulgate, won its victory rapidly and maintained its dominance effectively. The manuscripts in which it appears differ from one another very little.

In Egypt the text-type which won a dominant position owed much to the scholarly achievements of Christians at Alexandria. Here, under Clement and Origen, the young Christian movement learned much of the lore of the Greeks. At Alexandria the study of the manuscripts of the pagan classics reached its peak. It is not surprising, therefore, that Alexandrian Christians are given credit for developing the

text-type which is today the preference of most scholars. "Develop" is the exact word, for its witnesses are seldom unanimous. By the fifth century this text-type, called variously the "Alexandrian" or the "Beta" or the "Neutral,"³ held a dominant position in Egypt. Its career was cut short by the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt in the seventh century.

Long before the seventh century the leadership of the Greek world had passed to Constantinople. Here there emerged a form of the New Testament that was distinct from that of Alexandria and distinct from that known in the West before Jerome. Today we know but little of its origin and very little more of the steps by which it developed into the form in which we find it in the tenth century ruling all Greek Christendom. Like the Latin and Syriac Vulgates, like the Alexandrian New Testament, there is little in this Byzantine New Testament that is unique; and there is relatively little that was created by the makers and revisers of this revision. Most of its readings existed in the second century. The pattern in which earlier forms were mixed at Constantinople is, however, a distinct pattern. From the tenth to the fourteenth centuries at least four distinguishable revisions of this Greek Vulgate were produced. And a fifth—to which most of the medieval manuscripts belong—is not included because it is so amorphous that it hardly deserves the label "distinguishable." This dominant medieval type is the Byzantine New Testament. One of its distinguishable cousins appears in

3. Hort called it "Neutral" and insisted that the Alexandrian was a distinct type. Today what Hort called "Alexandrian" is regarded as a minor element within the Neutral, and what Hort called "Neutral" is sometimes called "Alexandrian" and sometimes "Beta." This last label was supplied by Sir Frederic Kenyon, who was seeking abstract labels.

the first printings of the New Testament (notably in those of Erasmus, Elzevir, and Stephanus) and, through them, determines the content of the sixteenth-century translations into English, which in their turn determined the content of the King James translation and the English New Testament down to A.D. 1880.

The original New Testament may be likened to a collection of dresses. These dresses were worn out, cut up, and put into a scrap bag. This process was completed in the second century. Then frugal and industrious Christians came along, reached into the bag for material, and made patchwork quilts out of it. When they lacked a needed piece, they found it elsewhere; when a piece was misshapen, they trimmed it to fit. Some of these quilt-makers liked long narrow quilts; some liked square ones; some had an antipathy to green color and would not use any material which contained it; others doted on red scraps. But most of the material came out of the scrap bag.

In the fourth and later centuries some of the earlier quilts were ripped up and put back in the bag, from which again new quilts were made—pieced out where necessary with new material. Many of these patterns became popular and were copied widely but, until the industrial revolution, never with complete accuracy.

How would you reconstruct the original dresses? Would you reconstruct the quilts made since the fourth century? Would you try to remake the third-century quilts? If you got back to the second century, what formula would you use for getting the original dresses out of the scrap bag?

This is the question that faces the scholar and the layman: How would you choose your New Testament?

Chapter VIII

THE BEST NEW TESTAMENT MUST BE CHOSEN VERSE BY VERSE

A.D. 1925-50

WE CANNOT choose our New Testament by counting noses, or by venerating age, or by the selection of a paragon, or by constructing a family tree, or by preferring an early Christian who commented on the New Testament to one who copied it, or by assuming the independence of witnesses from distant places.

The answer is complex. We choose our New Testament by taking three steps. First of all, we study the relationship of one New Testament to other New Testaments. This is sometimes called the external study of a manuscript. Then we study the relationship of one particular form of a passage to the alternative forms of the passage and to the context. This is the internal evidence. Finally, if neither of these helps us and the passage still doesn't make sense, we make the shrewdest guess we can as to the original form of the passage. This is conjectural emendation.

It may seem silly to say that family trees can't solve your problem and then say that you begin the solution with family trees. For the student of textual criticism the making of family trees is not wisdom, but it is the beginning of wisdom. He starts his investigation with a particular manuscript of the

New Testament. Either members of its family still survive or they do not. If they do, he charts the family tree. Then he can forget the individual members of the family and quote only the family from there on. In this regard the study of the New Testament differs from that of the law. No textual critic would ever cite Macalester, Macalester, Macalester, Macalester, Jones, and Macalester as authorities for a reading. He would cite Macalester and Jones. Macalesters would exist not as individuals for him but only in their essential nature *qua* Macalester. This clears out a lot of underbrush.

But, if the other members of the immediate family have *not* survived, the student profits from comparing his manuscript with others—even though he cannot reconstruct the family tree. Although this intimate location is impossible, more general locations within larger groups of manuscripts are a real possibility. The study of these larger and looser kinships illuminates the history of the transmission of the New Testament. In the second place, the study of the relationship of the first manuscript to others educates the student in the habits of scribes and in the characteristics of individual manuscripts. This knowledge is best gained from one's own experience rather than by memorizing digests of others' experiences in sets of rules. This lore about scribes and manuscripts must be obtained before one studies the individual readings in relation to each other.

These readings have been appraised by the experts through the generations of scholarly study in longer or shorter lists of rules, or "canons of internal criticism." As a sample, I present a set of ten canons taken from a book on the principles of textual criticism published in 1848. The author was J. Scott Porter, professor of sacred criticism and theology to the

Association of Non-subscribing Presbyterians in Ireland. His "Rules of Internal Evidence" follow:

1. A reading is to be suspected which can readily be supposed to have arisen from the mistake of a letter, syllable, or word from one of similar form.

2. A reading is to be suspected which appears to have arisen from the mistake of a letter, syllable, or word for one of similar sound.

3. A various reading is to be suspected which apparently owes its origin to the omission of some syllable, word, phrase, or sentence in consequence of a homoioteleuton.

4. A passage is suspicious which is omitted by some good authorities and which has the appearance of having been introduced into those copies in which it is found from a parallel place or from a marginal note.

5. A less elegant phrase is more likely to be genuine than another reading of the same passage in which there is nothing that might offend the eye or the ear.

6. A reading is to be suspected which seems well calculated to favor the observances of ascetic devotion, or which may have been introduced from a desire to avoid something that would have sounded offensive in pious ears.

7. Readings which favor the opinions of the transcriber, or of the sect to which he belonged, or which seem calculated to advance the honor of his party and to confound its adversaries are suspicious.

8. In general, a shorter reading is to be preferred to a more copious one.

9. Other things being equal, a reading is to be preferred which best accords with the usage of the writer in whose works it is found.

10. There is a strong probability in favor of any reading which, if assumed to have been the original one, will readily enable us to account for all the other readings by the operation of some of the known causes of error.

These rules were supposed to guide the student in choosing between alternative forms of the same passage. But if the shorter reading should be more elegant than the longer reading, what can the poor student do? No rule will save him.

These lists of rules have shrunk steadily in the last one hundred and fifty years. It was no accident that my sample list of ten rules was one hundred years old.

The trend has been to emphasize fewer and fewer rules. Tischendorf, as we have seen, was content with five. Many moderns emphasize only two. These two are: (1) that reading is to be preferred which best suits the context and (2) that reading is to be preferred which best explains the origin of all others. Fenton John Anthony Hort was never satisfied with short words if he could find a long one; so he called these rules (1) "Intrinsic Probability" and (2) "Transcriptional Probability."

These two rules are nothing less than concentrated formulas of all that the textual critic must know and bring to bear upon the solution of his problem. The first rule about choosing what suits the context exhorts the student to know the document he is working on so thoroughly that its idioms are his idioms, its ideas as well known as a familiar room. The second rule about choosing what could have caused the other readings requires that the student know everything in Christian history which could lead to the creation of a variant reading. This involves knowledge of institutions, doctrines, and events. This is knowledge of complicated and often con-

flicting forces and movements. Christianity from the beginning was a vital and creative movement. It outran the formation of patterns and fences. It experienced the love of God first and formulated it afterward. No single line can chart its course; no one orthodoxy encompass it. Out of this general variety come the variant readings of individual manuscripts.

In this complexity the student is guided not by rules but by knowledge and judgment. He is guided by his knowledge of scribes and manuscripts, of Christian history and institutions and theology, and of the books whose textual form he is striving to perfect. He is guided also by his own judgment, a quality through which the application of reason to knowledge becomes an art.

Scholars of distinction have demonstrated again and again the inevitable and important role of judgment—a subjective quality—in the appraisal of a New Testament's originality. One of these scholars was a poet in his spare time and an editor of the classics when he was working—A. E. Housman, the Shropshire Lad. In any discussion of textual criticism, I yield easily to the temptation to quote him. On the subject of judgment as opposed to an automatic objectivity, he said:

Textual criticism is not a branch of mathematics, nor indeed an exact science at all. . . . It therefore is not susceptible of hard-and-fast rules. It would be much easier if it were; and that is why people try to pretend that it is, or at least behave as if they thought so. Of course you can have hard-and-fast rules if you like, but then you will have false rules, and that will render them inapplicable to problems which are not simple, but complicated by the play of personality. A textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motions of the planets: he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas. If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require

to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique.

Textual criticism therefore is neither mystery nor mathematics: it cannot be learnt either like the catechism or like the multiplication table. This science and this art require more in the learner than a simply receptive mind. . . . If a dog is to hunt for fleas successfully, he must be quick and he must be sensitive. It is no good for a rhinoceros to hunt for fleas: he does not know where they are, and could not catch them if he did.¹

The quality of judgment is needed in the decision as to the use of conjectural emendation in the study of the New Testament. If, after external and internal evidence has been studied, the passage in question still yields no sense in any of the forms preserved in the manuscripts, a shrewd guess as to the nature of a possible primitive error is legitimate.

The careless use of conjecture is as indefensible as the refusal to use it at all. There can be no doubt that some of the readings preserved in our manuscripts were created by the conjectures of ancient editors. To use their conjectures in various passages because they are recorded in manuscripts and are, therefore, objective, and to refuse to make our own best guess when the situation requires it, is not a case of good judgment. Those scholars whose stubborn devotion to objectivity and the evidence of the manuscripts leads them to reject all conjecture deserve Housman's indictment: They "use manuscripts as drunkards use lamp posts,—not to light them on their way but to dissimulate their instability."²

In general, the students of the manuscripts and the translators have used conjecture parsimoniously; it is seldom that

1. A. E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," *Proceedings of the Classical Association, August 1921* (London), XVIII (1922), 68-69.

2. A. E. Housman (ed.), *M. Manilii Astronomicum, Liber Primus* (2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. liii.

a modern edition of the New Testament will contain more than two or three conjectures.

No statement of theory is complete unless it contains examples of its application. Since most examples involve either masses of technical details or the balancing of minutiae not easily translated into nontechnical language, the choice of examples for the layman is not an easy one. The larger variations are the easier to discuss with laymen, and a review of these suggested to me the choice of the story of the adulterous woman found in some New Testaments in John 7:53—8:11. Was this or was it not a part of the original Gospel of John?

I have known for some time that the answer to this question is no secret to New Testament scholars, but I thought I might raise it for pedagogical purposes with you without losing my standing in the union. But I was rather intimidated by the statements of some scholars which I found in my files. There I found a statement by Professor Benjamin Bacon to the effect that it is clear that this story was *not* a part of the Gospel of John and that there is no profit in further discussion of the subject. This almost stopped me; but I remembered a postcard.

The Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., contains a justly famous Greek manuscript of the Four Gospels from the fourth or fifth century A.D. It is the habit of the gallery to provide souvenir postcards for interested visitors. For some time they distributed a postcard of the Four Gospels, of which I have a copy. The photographed page begins at John 7:46 in the middle of the word "servants" and ends in 8:16 with the word "sent." On the back of the card these words appear:

The text is from Chapter 8 of the Gospel according to St. John: ". . . (3) And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery; and when they had set her in the midst, (4) they say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act. (5) Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou? . . . (7) So when they continued asking him, he . . . said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her. . . . (9) And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, . . . and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. (10) When Jesus . . . saw none but the woman, he said unto her, Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee? (11) She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more."

This translation is sensational because *not a word of this appears in the picture of the manuscript on the other side of the card*. The Washington Gospels do not contain the story of the adulterous woman anywhere. The treacherous character of ignorance is shown by the fact that the maker of the card chose this page to photograph because the story of the adulterous woman was one of his favorite scripture passages. He chose the page of the manuscript that began before it and ended after it, assumed that it contained it, and copied the story from a printed King James Version. He did not know what I am about to tell you.

The external evidence on this passage is as follows:

1. It is absent from all Greek manuscripts earlier than the ninth century, with the exception of a fifth-century Greek-Latin manuscript.
2. No Greek commentator before the twelfth century comments on this passage, although many comment all around it.
3. It appears in the majority of Greek manuscripts *after* the tenth century.

4. It appears in various locations: (a) after John 7: 53 most frequently; (b) after Luke 21: 38 in Family 13; (c) after John 7: 36 in MS 225; (d) at the end of John in a dozen Greek and many Armenian manuscripts; and (e) in the margins of many manuscripts at John 7: 53.

5. It is marked as an insertion (with the conventional obelus) in scores of Greek manuscripts.

6. It appears in widely varying forms. The student who is comparing the Gospel of John with a printed text is usually amazed at the amount of variation that begins as soon as he enters this story. Nine distinct forms of it are well attested in Greek. A tenth form, not known in Greek, reads as follows:

... (to do as Jesus also did) with her that had sinned, whom the elders set before Him, and leaving the judgment in His hands, departed. But He, the Searcher-of-Hearts, asked her and said to her: Have the elders condemned thee, my daughter? She saith to him, Nay, Lord. And He said unto her: Go thy way: neither do I condemn thee.

This comes from a third-century nonbiblical work in Syriac.³

7. It is known in the Latin West earlier than the fourth century; known to Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome (who said that many Greek and Latin manuscripts contained it); it appears in a half-dozen pre-Vulgate Latin manuscripts and in the Latin Vulgate.

8. It is known in some form in Syria by the middle of the third century. It is quoted in the Syriac "Teaching of the Apostles" and in the Apostolic Constitutions which are based on that.

3. R. Hugh Connolly (ed.), *Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 76.

This external evidence⁴ is best explained by the assumption that this story was no part of the original Gospel of John but entered the Greek New Testament through the Latin versions. This assumption is supported by the internal evidence.

If we apply the test of suitability to context, the vote is still negative. This woman is the only sinner in the Fourth Gospel. Nowhere else does the fourth evangelist suggest the quality of pity, mercy, or compassion. There are no "publicans and sinners" in John's Gospel. John has no repentance or forgiveness of sins. No person of notorious character is introduced. Nowhere is any group of sinners mentioned as companions of Jesus. Sin defined as immorality does not exist in this Gospel. Here it is defined as hostility to Jesus or as rejection of Jesus. John says nothing of those gross sins which Paul reminds his converts they once committed. No list of vices can be compiled from the Gospel of John.

Detailed studies of vocabulary and style show that this story is as alien to John in these matters as it is in idea.

Furthermore, the story does not fit the context because it interrupts the narrative. If this story is absent, then the great day of the Feast of Tabernacles is signalized by Jesus' twin declarations that he is the Water of Life and the Light of the World. These sayings correspond to two symbolic acts performed on that day: the pouring-out of the water and the lighting of the golden lamps. If the story of the adulterous woman is interposed, the first passage alone falls within the time of the feast and the second is deferred until the day after

4. I have not included the evidence of the Greek gospel-lectionary, because it defies summary treatment at present. It defies summary treatment because of its complexity and our ignorance of its historical development. In my personal judgment it testifies against the story of the adulterous woman as part of the Gospel of John.

its conclusion. Moreover, the two sayings are then separated by an unrelated incident.

The story of the adulterous woman does not fit the context in the Gospel of John; its absence does.

The second test I have proposed has little force here. Does its presence or its absence in the original best explain the other? It is hard to imagine a good reason for its wholesale omission. But St. Augustine's imagination was strong enough to think up a reason: "Some of little faith, or rather enemies of the true faith, I suppose from a fear lest their wives should gain impunity in sin, removed from their manuscripts the Lord's act of indulgence to the adulteress."⁵ The generality of the "omission" in early Greek sources can hardly be explained this way. Some of those Greek scribes must have been unmarried! Nor is Augustine's argument supported by the evidence from Luke's Gospel, where even greater acts of compassion are left untouched by the scribes who lack this story in John. The external evidence and the evidence from intrinsic probability show that this story was no part of the original Gospel of John.

As an example of the second test in the area of internal evidence, I borrow outright from the French Catholic scholar, Léon Vaganay. I do it the more gladly because I regard his manual, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, as a lucid and sound introduction for serious students of the subject, the best of all the brief and general treatments.

He chooses II Thess. 3:2a to exhibit the rule that that form of a passage is to be preferred which in itself best explains the origin of the other forms. The various forms are concerned

5. *Ad Pollentium de adulterinis conjugis* ii. vii. 6.

with the title to be given to Timothy, one of the apostle Paul's youthful assistants. The sentence appears in five forms, all of which begin, "And we sent Timothy. . . ." They continue as follows:

- (1) "our brother and collaborator of God"
- (2) "our brother and minister of God"
- (3) "our brother and collaborator"
- (4) "our brother and minister and collaborator of God"
- (5) "our brother and minister of God and our collaborator."

The first seems to be the most difficult reading. There appears to be no reason for changing the text to read "collaborator of God." The title "collaborator of God" is almost blasphemous in tone and is, at the least, extravagant praise for an assistant to an apostle. If that were the original reading, however, it might have proved offensive to some, and, thus, motive would be given for the change. In the second the offensive word "collaborator" is changed to "minister." In the third the words "of God" are omitted, thus making Timothy a collaborator of Paul and not of God. The fourth and fifth are combinations of the previous readings; the fourth is a combination of the first and second, and the fifth is a combination of the second and third. Thus the first seems to explain the other four readings.

As an example of conjectural emendation, I have chosen a suggested correction of John 19:29. In this account of the crucifixion, the King James and the Revised Standard versions agree in the use of the word "hyssop." "A bowl full of sour wine stood there; so they put a sponge full of the wine on hyssop, and held it to his mouth." Goodspeed translates this "on a pike" and gives the following commentary:

Matthew and Mark speak of a reed or stick . . . being used for the purpose. But hyssop was a low grassy plant, seldom over two feet high, and how it could be used for such a purpose is hard to see. It is mentioned in I Kings 4:33 as the most insignificant of plants. . . . Modern scholars are inclined to dismiss the word "hyssop" as a graphic error (Souter) for the Greek word ὑσσώπ [hyssō], a pike, which would be the most practical and natural thing to use in such a situation. If this . . . was the original reading, it must have been changed very early to hyssop, under the influence of the use of hyssop before the Passover to sprinkle the blood of the Passover lamb upon the doorposts (Exod. 12:22).⁶

In such a case the reader must judge whether John, who had read Mark, would care more for accuracy in historical detail or more for allegorical allusion. In other words, is the nature of the Fourth Gospel in general such as to support or to reject this conjecture?

With these brief examples we leave the discussion of method. The method begins by the comparison of manuscript with manuscript—a study of external relationships. This sometimes identifies families which can be treated as single units rather than as individuals. This always leads to an approximate location of the particular manuscript within some large group or text-type and illuminates its history. As a by-product, the student learns much of scribes and their ways. But since he cannot accurately reconstruct the archetype or source of each large group, he turns to the appraisal of variants in specific passages. Here he tries to select that reading which best suits its context and best explains the origin of the other readings in the same passage. Beyond this, the student must make the best-informed and most judicious guesses possible to him.

6. E. J. Goodspeed, *Problems of New Testament Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 115-16.

Chapter IX

HOW ACCURATE IS YOUR NEW TESTAMENT?

IF YOU care about your New Testament, you will want to know what "make" it is, who translated it, and, above all, how accurate it is. The translator may diminish, but he cannot materially increase, the accuracy of the particular Greek New Testament from which he makes his translation. In the matter of accuracy, therefore, the primary question is, "How accurate a New Testament was it translated from?"

As a brief answer to this question seventeen translations are listed below, roughly in the order of their accuracy:

| Translation | Source | Date | Publisher |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| Goodspeed: The American Translation | Westcott and Hort | 1923 | Chicago: University of Chicago Press |
| Twentieth Century | Westcott and Hort | 1898-1901 | New York: F. H. Revell Company |
| Westminster | Westcott and Hort | 1913-35 | London: Longmans, Green and Company |
| American Revised Version | King James & Westcott and Hort | 1901 | New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons |
| English Revised Version | King James & Westcott and Hort | 1881 | London: Oxford University Press |
| Revised Standard Version | King James & Westcott and Hort | 1946 | New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons |
| Moffatt | Von Soden | 1913 | New York: Harper and Brothers |
| Riverside (Ballantine) | Nestle (approx.) | 1923 | Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company |

| Translation | Source | Date | Publisher |
|---------------|-----------------------------|------|--|
| Weymouth | Weymouth's Re-sultant | 1903 | Boston: Pilgrim Press |
| Spencer | Westcott and Hort (approx.) | 1895 | New York: Macmillan Company |
| Basic English | Souter | 1941 | London: Cambridge University Press |
| Ferrar Fenton | Westcott and Hort | 1895 | London: Oxford University Press |
| Centenary | Westcott and Hort | 1924 | Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society |
| Confraterniry | Latin Vulgate | 1941 | Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony's Guild Press |
| Ronald Knox | Latin Vulgate | 1944 | New York: Sheed and Ward, and many others |
| Challoner | Latin Vulgate | 1779 | London: Sheed and Ward, and many others |
| King James | Textus Receptus | 1611 | London: Oxford University Press, and many others |

The ranking of these translations was based originally on the translator's own statements as to their source; but this has been checked and corrected by a test as to the relationship of each one of these translations to two forms of the Greek New Testament—the Westcott and Hort text and the Textus Receptus or Received Text. I carried out this test for the entire content of the Gospel of John. In this gospel the two Greek texts were compared verse by verse; and, from the large list of differences noted, sixty-four passages were selected in which even the freest English translation must show which of the two Greek texts it supports. These sixty-four passages are cited at the end of this chapter. The two forms of the Greek text were selected as being generally regarded by scholars as the best or most accurate text in the case of Westcott and Hort, or the worst or most corrupt text in the case of the Textus Receptus. The ranking of the

translations would not be changed appreciably if Tischendorf or Nestle were substituted for Westcott and Hort. The contrast between any modern scholarly edition and the Textus Receptus would have the same proportions. On the basis of this assumption each of the seventeen translations¹

TABLE 1
AGREEMENTS WITH WESTCOTT AND HORT AND THE
TEXTUS RECEPTUS IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

| TRANSLATION | AGREEMENTS WITH | | OTHER |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------|
| | Westcott and Hort | Textus Receptus | |
| Goodspeed..... | 64 | 0 | |
| Twentieth Century..... | 59 | 4 | I |
| Westminster..... | 58 | 6 | |
| American Revised Version..... | 58 | 6 | |
| English Revised Version..... | 57 | 7 | |
| Revised Standard Version..... | 56 | 8 | |
| Moffatt..... | 56 | 7 | I |
| Riverside..... | 55 | 9 | |
| Weymouth..... | 53 | 11 | |
| Spencer..... | 51 | 13 | |
| Basic English..... | 51 | 12 | I |
| Ferrar Fenton..... | 50 | 14 | I |
| Centenary..... | 47 | 16 | I |
| Confraternity..... | 35 | 27 | 2 |
| Knox..... | 33 | 29 | 2 |
| Challoner..... | 25 | 37 | 2 |
| King James..... | 0 | 64 | |

was tested in sixty-four passages in the Gospel of John, and the resultant agreements with one or the other of the Greek texts are presented in Table 1.

1. The editions of the translations sampled in this test are those listed on pp. 85-86, with the exception of (a) the 1948 edition of Goodspeed; (b) the Twentieth Century, 1904; (c) the 1940 edition of Spencer; (d) the 1905 edition of Fenton; (e) the Moffatt published by George H. Doran & Co.; and (f) the 1928 edition of Challoner.

In addition to the evidence of the samples, statements made by the translators throw some light on the accuracy of these translations. We quote some of these in the following paragraphs and note the treatment given to three spurious passages: (a) Mark 16:9-20, "The Long Ending of Mark"; (b) John 7:53-8:11, "The Story of the Adulteress"; and (c) I John 5:7-8, the "Three Heavenly Witnesses."

Goodspeed's translation, *An American Translation*, makes the following claim: "I have closely followed the Greek text of Westcott and Hort, now generally accepted." In his Preface he indicates clearly some departures from the text of Westcott and Hort. (a) Goodspeed includes the "short ending" of Mark with the heading, "An Ancient Appendix," and Mark 16:9-20 with the heading, "Another Ancient Appendix." (b) He excludes John 7:53-8:11. (c) And he excludes the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8.

The Twentieth Century New Testament has on its title-page this claim: "A Translation into Modern English Made from the Original Greek (Westcott and Hort's Text) by a Company of about Twenty Scholars Representing the Various Sections of the Christian Church." This text, like Goodspeed's, stands or falls on the general excellence of the Westcott and Hort text. (a) The Twentieth Century includes Mark 16:9-20 in brackets with the heading, "A Late Appendix. (Inserted in some manuscripts from an ancient source)," which is followed by "Another Appendix," the so-called "short ending." (b) It lacks John 7:53-8:11, but this passage is included in brackets at the end of the Gospel with the heading, "A Passage about an Adulteress. (Inserted in some manuscripts from an ancient source, and found

either after John 7: 53 or after Luke 21: 38.)" (c) It does not include the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5: 7-8.

The Westminster Version is a Roman Catholic work done by a company of scholars, and our test shows them relying for the most part on Westcott and Hort. (a) But this version has the "long ending" of Mark, with a footnote of critical explanation: "Mark xvi. 9-20. *The risen Lord*: Matthew xxviii. 9-20: Luke xxiv. 13-53: John xx. 11-25. These verses have not the same textual support as the rest of the gospel. The Biblical Commission's ruling (26th June, 1912) is 1. that they are inspired and canonical Scripture. 2. that it cannot be proved that St. Mark did not write them." (b) It includes John 7: 53-8: 11, also with footnote: "vii. 53-viii. 11 *The adulteress*. Both the textual and the linguistic evidence make against the Johannine authorship of this section, but in accordance with the definitions of the Council of Trent, etc., it must certainly be accepted as inspired and canonical Scripture, as being in any case a sufficiently considerable part of the Bible." (c) The "Three Heavenly Witnesses" is included in I John 5: 7-8 in the earlier larger Westminster edition published in 1924, with the footnote: "... In the opinion of nearly all critics and most Catholic writers of the present day the words were not contained in the original text; at the same time, until further action by the Holy See it is not open to Catholic editors to eliminate the words from a version made for the use of the faithful. . . ."²

The smaller, more recent edition lacks the "Three Heavenly Witnesses," but it includes the footnote: "These verses

2. *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924), IV, 145-46.

as they stand in the present Clementine Vulgate read: 'For there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness of earth, the Spirit and the water and the blood; and these three are one.' Pere Bon-sirven, S.J., after mentioning that the additional words are not found in the ancient Greek MSS. or versions, and have only uncertain Latin attestation before the later fourth century, quotes with approval the saying of the late Dom H Hoepfl, O.S.B. 'nowadays almost all authors, even the Catholic authors, deny that the Johannine *comma* (as the addition is called) was written by the Blessed John the Apostle' (*Épîtres de Saint Jean*, Paris, 1936, pp. 19-20). The addition is not printed by Father Merk, S.J. in his Greek New Testament published at the Biblical Institute, Rome, for the use of students."

The American Revised Version is a revision of the English Revised Version, which is a revision of the King James, which is a revision of earlier translations. The difference between these two is not great in the matter of textual accuracy, but the American Committee was less traditional and more rigorous in the application of scholarly knowledge in this field. The general type of text is that of Westcott and Hort or Nestle diluted by the inheritance from King James and weakened by the inconsistencies that always appear in translations made by a company of scholars. (a) It includes Mark 16:9-20 after a space and with this marginal note: "The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel." (b) It includes John 7:53-8:11 but incloses it in brackets and has this marginal

note: "Most of the ancient authorities omit John vii. 53—viii. 11. Those which contain it vary much from each other." (c) It lacks the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8.

The English Revised Version, like the American, was based on no single Greek text, although the translators did have a reconstructed Greek text of important passages. In 1919 Alexander Souter reconstructed their Greek text from their translation and published it at the Clarendon Press. This text is closer in some details to the Received Text of the Middle Ages than that which lies behind the American Revised Version or the Revised Standard Version. (a) It includes Mark 16:9-20 with the following note: "The two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel." (b) It includes John 7:53-8:11 but incloses it in brackets and has this footnote: "Most of the ancient authorities omit John 7:53-8:11. Those which contain it vary much from each other." (c) It lacks the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8.

The Revised Standard Version has published an explanation of the source it used which indicates clearly that no particular text was accepted as standard. It is thus impossible to make a general evaluation of the accuracy of the base. Allen Wikgren's careful appraisal of the accuracy of the translation is the best judgment available today.³ One of the faults of the Revised Standard Version is an unnecessary inconsistency. In general, it does not show the result of careful attention to

3. "A Critique of the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament," chap. xxii in *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow*, ed. H. R. Willoughby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 383-400.

the problem of accuracy in the source which is to be expected in a recent work. (a) This version includes Mark 16:9-20 in italics with the following heading: "Some texts and versions add as 16:9-20 the following passage:" And a further note reads, "Other ancient authorities add after verse 8 the following:" and is followed by the "short ending" of Mark. (b) It includes John 7:53-8:11 in italics with the note: "Most of the ancient authorities either omit 7:53-8:11, or insert it, with variations of the text, here or at the end of this Gospel or after Luke 21:38." (c) It lacks the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8.

Weymouth's translation is a translation of Weymouth's Resultant Greek Testament. This Resultant Greek Testament is a blending of ten printings of the Greek New Testament on the basis of a majority vote. The printings which lie back of Weymouth are Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Alford, Bale, Westcott and Hort, English Revised Version's text (equals Souter), Lightfoot, Ellicott, and Weiss. Since Weymouth followed the majority, "roughly speaking," it must be plain that his sources include his own appraisal of the various editions. (a) It includes Mark 16:9-20 in brackets with the footnote: "V.L. omits verses 9-20. It may now be regarded as an assured finding of criticism that these verses are not part of Mark's Gospel. The internal evidence, in itself really decisive for their rejection, is confirmed by the external testimony. (See R.V.mg.) Mark, master of vivid and effective narrative, can hardly have intended to finish his story with the inartistic and impotent ending of verse 8. Possibly all copies of the Gospel descended from a single manuscript which had lost its last leaf." (b) This translation includes John 7:53-8:11 in brackets and the follow-

ing footnote: "The evidence, external and internal (un-Johannine words and phrases and numerous various readings) seems decisive against regarding this section as part of the Gospel of John, which of course is not to say that it may not be a fragment of genuine evangelical tradition. Cf. xxi. 25. While many authorities omit it altogether, others place it at the end of the Gospel, others after Luke xxi. 35. Cf. the similar setting of vii. 53—viii. 1, 2 and of Luke xxi. 37, 38." (c) It lacks the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8.

The Riverside translation made by William G. Ballantine generally follows the Greek New Testament published by Nestle. Nestle's edition is a mechanical blending of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, and Weiss. Nestle's text follows the agreement of two out of these three. But Ballantine's translation makes no claim to a strict adherence to the text he translates. (a) He includes Mark 16:9-20 in Appendix A, the "short ending" in Appendix B, and adds a note at 16:8: "(In our oldest copies of the Greek New Testament the Book of Mark ends here. In some later copies Appendix A or Appendix B is added.)" (b) He includes John 7:53-8:11 in brackets with the footnote: "The bracketed passage is lacking in most of the ancient manuscripts. Plainly it does not belong in this place or indeed anywhere in John. Perhaps someone had it on a loose leaf between the pages of his copy of John and then some copyist found it here and copied it in. In spite of our ignorance as to its origin, few will find it possible to doubt the truth of this priceless fragment." (c) The "Three Heavenly Witnesses" are not included in I John 5:7-8 of this translation.

Father Spencer's translation differs from Westcott and

Hort as follows: (a) Mark 16:9-20 is present without note. (b) It includes John 7:53-8:11 with the footnote: "7:53-8:11. This section is wanting in the best Greek MSS.; it is, however, apostolic and a true part of inspired Scripture." (c) I John 5:7 contains the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in brackets with the note: "The words in brackets are not found in the oldest MSS. now extant, and the majority of Catholic critics today hold that they were not part of the original text. On the other hand, the arguments for the authenticity of the passage have such weight that it would not be safe to regard non-authenticity as established (See decree of Holy Office, Jan. 15, 1897) 'Concur in one.' As the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost bear witness to Christ's divinity, so the spirit which He yielded up on the cross, and the water and the blood that issued from His side, bear witness to His human nature."

Edward J. Byrne in a review of Spencer's work⁴ indicates that a selected critical text was used, not depending on any one edition. He notes that the text does not differ substantially from the Latin Vulgate or the Rheims Version but does, however, list eight places at which there is a variation from the Vulgate. Our sampling indicates that Spencer differs substantially from the Latin Vulgate, as a comparison with Challoner's figure in the table will show.

The Fenton translation claims to be based on the Westcott and Hort text of the New Testament but wanders widely from it in quite a few passages. (a) It includes Mark 16:9-20 in brackets with the note: "The following fourteen verses are omitted from the older MSS. They differ greatly in style and language from the rest of the book; and on this account

4. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, I (1939), 86 ff.

it has been supposed that they were added by a later hand. Alford expresses the opinion that 'in all probability they formed no part of Mark's original Gospel.' I would suggest that these three so-called endings of St. Mark's Gospel are simply notes of ancient copyists or editors." (b) John 7: 53—8: 11 is omitted with the note: "The narrative of the sinful woman (ch. vii. 53—viii. 11) is rejected by the most competent authorities as a spurious interpolation. The question will be found fully discussed in the introduction to the larger edition of Westcott and Hort's Greek New Testament (page 299, Section 388); and it is given as their opinion that this particular passage 'has no right to a place in the Text of the Four Gospels.' The language of the MSS. containing the passage varies considerably; but the generally accepted reading I have added at the end of this Gospel, where it is placed as an appendix for reference, but not in any way as a part of the Sacred Text." This note is repeated at the end of the Gospel with the appendix, "The Woman Taken in Adultery." (c) The "Three Heavenly Witnesses" are not included in I John 5: 7-8.

Moffatt's translation of Von Soden's Greek text comes low in the list because the good elements in Von Soden's text are hopelessly mixed with error. A more extensive comparison would put him even lower, for he departs from Westcott and Hort where it agrees with the Textus Receptus in a number of passages which are not included in our totals here—though some of them occur in John. No scholar today uses Von Soden's text for any scholarly purpose. But Moffatt's translation was made immediately after the publication of that text, before the votes of the critics were in. (a) It includes Mark 16: 9-20 with the note: "The following appendix represents

a couple of second century attempts to complete the gospel. The passage within brackets (v. 14-15) in the first of these epilogues originally belonged to it, but was excised for some reason at an early date. Jerome quoted part of it, but the full text has only been discovered quite recently in codex W, the Freer uncial of the gospels." (b) It includes John 7:53-8:11 in brackets with the note: "It is uncertain to which, if any, of the canonical gospels this fragment of primitive tradition originally belonged." (c) The "Three Heavenly Witnesses" is lacking in I John 5:7-8.

The New Testament in Basic English is rather freely translated from Souter's Greek New Testament, which is a reconstruction in Greek of the source of the English Revised Version. It may be asked why the translators would choose Souter's text when more accurate Greek New Testaments were available. Perhaps the makers of the Basic English New Testament wished to compare it with the English Revised Version. In any case, its source is a mixture of Greek texts with a large dose of the King James Version thrown in for good measure. Moreover, this is a translation into a very limited vocabulary with a consequent further loss of accuracy. (a) This translation includes Mark 16:9-20 with a footnote to verse 8: "This is the end of Mark. The later verses are by another writer." (b) It includes John 7:53-8:11 but incloses it in brackets. (c) It lacks the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8.

The Centenary, Mrs. Montgomery's translation, makes no statement as to the text she translates, but Marion Simms is authority for the statement that her text does not differ greatly from that of Westcott and Hort. Our test indicates that she is not following that source. (a) Mark 16:9-20 is

included under the heading, "Appendix, The Appearance of Jesus," and is footnoted: "The closing verses of Mark's Gospel are probably a later addition, and an attempt to complete what is evidently unfinished. There are considerable confusions and differences in the various texts." (b) It includes John 7:53—8:11 without brackets or footnote. (c) It lacks the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8.

I strongly urge the reader to look up with the help of the Index the earlier discussions of the particular Greek texts which are briefly mentioned here.

We have included in our test three translations from the Latin Vulgate. The translation made by Father Knox in England is rapidly winning acceptance there, and the Confraternity seems to be winning an equal acceptance in the United States. Both of these are improvements upon the older editions of Challoner's revision of the Rheims New Testament. They all bear one mortal liability—they are translations of a translation. Let it be granted that the Latin Vulgate did not undergo as much corruption as was undergone by the Greek Vulgate (the Received Text). It is still true that the Latin Vulgate text which underlies these translations represents a relatively corrupt text of the New Testament when compared with such texts as Westcott and Hort or Tischendorf. I have given these three translations a priority to the King James because of the relative superiority of the Latin Vulgate to the Greek Vulgate.

On the three spurious passages, Father Knox follows his source. (a) He includes Mark 16:9-20 with this marginal note: "It seems that the manuscripts of St. Mark were mutilated at the end in very early times; the whole of this chapter being sometimes omitted (St. Jerome *Ad Hedyb.* q. 3).

And in a few of our existing manuscripts these last twelve verses are wanting, which fact (together with the abruptness of their style) has made some critics think that they were added from another source. But they are evidently a primitive account, and there is no reason why we should not ascribe their inclusion here to St. Mark." (b) He includes John 7:53—8:11 with this marginal note: "vv. 1-11. Many of the best Greek manuscripts omit this passage, together with verse 53 of ch. vii." (c) He includes the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8 with this marginal note: "v. 7. This verse does not occur in any good Greek manuscript. But the Latin manuscripts may have preserved the true text. . . ."

(a) The Confraternity edition includes Mark 16:9-20 without note or comment. (b) It also includes John 7:53—8:11 without brackets but with the footnote: "This passage is wanting in many Greek MSS; in some others it is found in Chapter 21. It is well supported in both the Old Latin and Vulgate MSS. There is no doubt of its right to be included among the Sacred Writings." (c) It includes the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in I John 5:7-8 with the note: "According to the evidence of many manuscripts, and the majority of commentators, these verses should read: 'And there are three who give testimony, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are one.' The Holy See reserves to itself the right to pass finally on the origin of the present reading."

(a) Challoner's translation includes Mark 16:9-20 without brackets but with the note: "In some MSS. the Gospel closes with the ninth verse. Some maintain that the remaining verses are hardly in Mark's style and that one of the two

alternative endings in existence should replace it. The weight of MSS. authority lies however with the one to which we are accustomed and it was known to S. Irenaeus, d. A.D. 202. Moreover it is the ending consecrated by long usage in the Church and its inspiration is embraced in the Decrees of the Councils of Trent and the Vatican, "The entire Books of the Old and the New Testament with all their parts." See *Aids to the Bible*, II (IV) pp. 216-219." (b) It includes John 7:53-8:11 with the footnote: "This episode finds no place in any of our early Greek MSS., but it is well-known to very early Fathers. St. Jerome found it in MSS. which he calls 'ancient' and therefore much older than any we possess. In some MSS. it is inserted after Luke xxi where it is appropriate. But whether the passage really belongs to St. John's Gospel or not it is certainly a portion of inspired scripture; cf. notes on v. 3-4 and Lk. xxii. 43-44. R.V. has the passage, but in brackets." (c) The "Three Heavenly Witnesses" are included with the note: "... for the authenticity of this verse see *Aids to the Bible*, V, pp. 326-331."

The text which served as the source of the King James Version is the Received Text (*Textus Receptus*), the Greek Vulgate of the late Middle Ages. In chapter iv we have discussed the shortcomings and limitations of that text as it was used by Erasmus, Stephanus, and the Elzevirs. No scholar today employs this text for any scholarly purpose except as he may use it in writing the history of the Greek New Testament. The King James version is undoubtedly the most inaccurate English New Testament in common use today. The sample showed it standing alone against the other sixteen translations fifteen times. The King James stands at the bottom of the list also in regard to the three spurious pas-

sages selected as tests. (a) It includes Mark 16:9–20 without mark or note of any kind. (b) It includes John 7:53–8:11 without mark or note of any kind. (c) It includes the “Three Heavenly Witnesses” in I John 5:7–8 without mark or note of any kind.

If you want accuracy in your New Testament, you should select from the top half of Table 1. If you prefer linguistic quality, you may choose the sonorous rhythms of King James or the austerity of Basic English; but if you were a person who chose a New Testament solely for linguistic flavor, you would not be reading this book, or at least you would not have read it to this point.

VARIATIONS BETWEEN WESTCOTT AND HORT AND THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS IN SIXTY-FOUR PASSAGES IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

The Gospel of John was selected for this test because in it the amount of variation between the Greek sources is less than in the other Gospels. The lower amount of variation per chapter in John makes it possible to cover an entire Gospel. No claim is made for complete accuracy here or in the tabulation of the agreements of the individual translations with one or the other of these forms. What was sought was a general rating with an objective base. The verse numbers are those of the Textus Receptus.

- | | | |
|------|----|---|
| 1:15 | TR | This was he of whom I said |
| | WH | For it was he who said it |
| 1:18 | TR | the only-begotten Son |
| | WH | the only-begotten God |
| 1:27 | TR | He it is, who coming after me, is preferred before me |
| | WH | He is to come after me |
| 1:28 | TR | Bethabara |
| | WH | Bethany |
| 1:39 | TR | Come and see. |
| | WH | Come and you will see. |

- 1:50 TR Nathanael answered and said unto him
WH Nathanael answered
- 1:52 TR Hereafter ye shall see heaven
WH You will see heaven
- 3:15 TR That whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life.
WH So that everyone who believes in him may have eternal life.
- 3:25 TR between John's disciples and the Jews
WH between John's disciples and a Jew
- 4:15 TR come hither to draw
WH come all this way to draw
- 4:35-36 TR they are white already for harvesting. And he that reapeth
WH they are white for harvesting. The reaper is already
- 4:42 TR is indeed the Christ, the Savior of the world.
WH is indeed the Savior of the world.
- 4:43 TR departed thence and went into Galilee.
WH went on to Galilee.
- 5:2 TR Bethesda
WH Bethzatha
- 5:3 TR a great multitude
WH a multitude
- 5:3-4 TR waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool and troubled the water. Then the first one who stepped in after the troubling of the water was cured of whatever disease he had.
WH *omitted*
- 5:12 TR Take up thy bed and walk?
WH Pick it up and walk?
- 5:16 TR persecute Jesus and sought to slay him because
WH persecute Jesus because
- 5:30 TR of the Father who has sent me.
WH him who has sent me.

- 6:11 TR he distributed to the disciples and the disciples to those who were seated
WH he distributed to those who were seated
- 6:17 TR Jesus had not come to them.
WH Jesus had not yet come to them.
- 6:22 TR no other boat there except one, that one into which his disciples had entered, and that Jesus had not gone into the boat with his disciples
WH no other boat there except one and that Jesus had not gone into the boat with his disciples
- 6:39 TR of the Father who has sent me
WH of him who has sent me
- 6:40 TR of him that sent me
WH of my Father
- 6:47 TR He who believes in me has eternal life.
WH He who believes has eternal life.
- 6:51 TR and the bread which I shall give is my flesh which I shall give on behalf of the life of the world.
WH and the bread which I shall give is my flesh, on behalf of the life of the world.
- 6:58 TR not just as your fathers ate the manna and died
WH not just as the fathers ate and died
- 6:63 TR the words which I speak
WH the words which I have spoken
- 6:69 TR You are the Christ the Son of the living God.
WH You are the Holy One of God.
- 7:20 TR the crowd answered and said
WH the crowd answered
- 7:26 TR do the rulers know truly that this is truly the Christ?
WH do the rulers know truly that this is the Christ?
- 7:39 TR for not yet was the Holy Spirit
WH for not yet was the Spirit
- 7:40 TR many of the crowd
WH some of the crowd

- 7:53—8:11 TR *contains story of adulteress*
 WH *lacks story of adulteress (in appendix)*
- 8:59 TR and went out of the temple passing through their midst
 and went on thus
 WH and went out of the temple
- 9:4 TR it is necessary for me to work
 WH it is necessary for us to work
- 9:11 TR to the pool of Siloam
 WH to Siloam
- 10:4 TR And whenever he puts out his own sheep
 WH And whenever he puts out all his own
- 10:26 TR because you are not of my sheep, as I said to you.
 WH because you are not of my sheep.
- 10:29 TR He who gives to me is greater than all
 WH that which he gives me is greater than all
- 11:30 TR but he was in the place
 WH but he was still in the place
- 11:41 TR Then they took away the stone where the corpse was
 lying.
 WH Then they took away the stone.
- 12:4 TR Judas Iscariot the son of Simon
 WH Judas Iscariot
- 12:22 TR and again Andrew and Philip
 WH and Andrew and Philip went
- 12:41 TR Isaiah said these things when he saw his glory
 WH Isaiah said these things because he saw his glory
- 12:47 TR my words, and does not believe them
 WH my words, and does not keep them
- 13:18 TR the one who eats bread with me
 WH the one who eats my bread
- 14:4 TR you know where I am going and you know the way.
 WH you know the way where I am going.
- 14:28 TR because I said I am going
 WH because I am going

104 *What Is the Best New Testament?*

- 16:4 TR whenever the time comes
 WH whenever their time comes
- 16:16 TR and you will see me because I am going to the Father.
 WH and you will see me.
- 16:27 TR I have come from God.
 WH I have come from the Father.
- 17:11 TR keep those whom you gave me in your name
 WH keep them in your name which you gave me
- 17:21 TR let them be one in us
 WH let them be "in us"
- 18:20 TR where the Jews always meet together
 WH where all the Jews meet together
- 18:40 TR and they all cried out again
 WH and they cried out again
- 19:3 TR and they said
 WH and they marched up to him saying
- 19:29 TR and they filled a sponge with the wine
 WH a sponge soaked with wine
- 19:39 TR a mixture of myrrh and aloes
 WH a roll of myrrh and aloes
- 20:16 TR she said to him Rabbouni
 WH she said to him in Hebrew Rabbouni
- 20:29 TR Is it because you have seen me, Thomas, that you believe
 WH Is it because you have seen me that you believe
- 21:3 TR they went out and embarked in the boat immediately
 WH they went out and embarked in the boat
- 21:15 TR Simon son of Jonah
 WH Simon son of John

Chapter X

THE BEST IS STILL TO BE

A.D. 1950—

TWO tasks now need to be done if the next generation is to have a better, that is, a more accurate, New Testament. First, much of the evidence which has come to light in the last eighty years must be collected and published in a usable form. Second, on the basis of this evidence a new edition of the text of the Greek New Testament must be prepared. If the first is done, the second will be done. If the second is done, new translations, or English versions of the New Testament, will be made.

The collection of the evidence of the manuscripts as to the wording of the Greek New Testament is called "A Critical Apparatus for the Greek New Testament." The standard for such an edition was set by Tischendorf in 1869 in his eighth edition of the Greek New Testament. This was discussed in chapter iv (pp. 22-26). Tischendorf's edition went far toward making available the evidence that was discovered between 1516 and 1869. His edition was a tremendous achievement, how tremendous only those who have struggled with similar problems can testify.

But more manuscripts were discovered after 1869, and, of the earlier ones, Tischendorf knew some of his manuscripts only in part. Some of the discoveries have been mentioned

in chapter vi (pp. 45-50). Tischendorf concentrated on the evidence of the older manuscripts and gave but little space to those written nearer to our own times. The twentieth century was still young when another German scholar, Hermann von Soden, began work on a new critical apparatus which was intended to include things learned since Tischendorf and to give more space to the evidence of younger manuscripts. We have seen that Von Soden erred in his reconstruction of the history and hence in his method (pp. 40-41) and that he handicapped his work by the introduction of new symbols for all the manuscripts. Von Soden's work, published in 1913, suffered also from an extreme reliance upon samplings from manuscripts as contrasted with the use of a complete manuscript. Though the number of inaccuracies and errors in his work is larger than scholars are willing to tolerate, he must be given credit for increasing the amount of evidence available. In his edition he printed the variations from his Greek New Testament on 893 pages. The number of variations listed per page ranges from thirty-nine to sixty-one and averages more than fifty. This indicates that Von Soden knew about forty-five thousand different readings in the New Testament which he regarded as worth printing.

After 1913 more manuscripts were discovered, and many more were studied and published. The dissatisfaction with Von Soden's work was a further incentive to action. The most recent attempt to produce a dependable publication of the available manuscript evidence began in the city of Chicago.

In the autumn of 1948 the University of Chicago held an academic celebration of Edgar Goodspeed's contributions to

the study of Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. Scholars were invited to the campus of that institution to discuss what needed to be done if manuscript evidence was once more to be presented effectively. More than a score of American schools were represented at the meeting, in which enthusiasm for actually beginning work on the enterprise ran high.

By a happy coincidence letters from England inviting American scholars to join the British in the task of publishing a new critical apparatus of the Greek New Testament arrived just before the conference began. The conference voted enthusiastically to co-operate with the British in planning the project. A British committee had been at work for some years before the war, and two books of the New Testament had been published: the Gospel of Mark and the Gospel of Matthew. The second World War and the resignation of their editor, S. C. E. Legg, had halted the work. It was this committee which invited American participation in the planning of a new apparatus.

In December, 1948, the matter was presented to the Society of Biblical Literature. The American Textual Criticism Seminar of the Society authorized the establishment of a Temporary Planning Commission. This commission drafted the following resolution to be presented through the Council of the Society to the membership for formal adoption:

Upon the recommendation of its Textual Criticism Seminar, the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis endorses the international project to establish a new critical apparatus of the Greek New Testament; it authorizes the Temporary Planning Commission of this American Textual Criticism Seminar to set up such editorial boards and committees as it deems fit; and it approves the location of the central administration of the project at the University of Chicago.

This resolution was unanimously recommended to the Society by its Council, and the Society adopted this resolution at its business meeting on Wednesday morning, December 29. The Planning Commission thereupon appointed an editorial board composed of the following persons:

ROBERT P. BLAKE, Harvard University, Boston; L. O. BRISTOL, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario; ROBERT P. CASEY, Brown University, Providence, R.I.; KENNETH W. CLARK, Duke University, Durham, N.C.; E. C. COLWELL, University of Chicago; MORTON S. ENSLIN, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; FLOYD V. FILSON, McCormick Theological Seminary, Evanston, Ill.; JACOB GEERLINGS, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, Bel-Air, Los Angeles; FREDERICK C. GRANT, Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University, New York City; W. H. P. HATCH, Randolph, N.H.; CARL KRAELING, University of Chicago; MRS. SILVA LAKE, Occidental College, Los Angeles; BRUCE M. METZGER, Princeton Theological Seminary; MERRILL M. PARVIS, University of Chicago; HENRY W. SANDERS, Ann Arbor, Mich.; ERNEST W. SAUNDERS, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.; and ALLEN P. WIKGREN, University of Chicago.

They designated as officers of this board E. C. Colwell, chairman, and Frederick C. Grant, vice-chairman. They further designated an executive committee of this board: Merrill Parvis, secretary; Kenneth Clark, Robert Casey, Bruce Metzger, and Allen Wikgren.

An application was made to the Rockefeller Foundation for financial support, and an initial gift of \$12,500 was given for one year to assist in the work of planning the edition.

Part of this money was spent in bringing to this country Professor G. D. Kilpatrick of the University of Nottingham, now at Oxford, as the Ireland Professor of Divinity. In the spring of 1949 Professor Kilpatrick met with the American committee and the editorial board and worked out with

them a large part of the decisions necessary to launch the project. That autumn Dr. Parvis visited the various members of the British committee and reached agreement with them as to procedures so that the active work of collation could begin early in 1950, with publication in 1954.

In general, the plan is to divide the New Testament into eight volumes. It has been tentatively agreed that the first volume to be published will be the Gospel of Luke.

Photographs of additional manuscript sources have been taken in the libraries of the Near East during the last twelve months. Professor Kenneth Clark, who was annual professor of the American School at Jerusalem, assisted in this work. The British and Americans have agreed to exchange photographic copies of all manuscript materials available to either and of all collations of manuscripts. The actual work of producing collations of Greek manuscripts of the works of the Fathers, of the lectionaries, and of the versions is expected to hit full stride in 1952, since it is of the utmost importance that we have agreement across the ocean as to methods of collating and methods of recording evidence before much additional work is done.

Two preliminary steps have been taken. Lloyd's edition of the 1873 edition of the Received Text has been reproduced at the University of Chicago Press in eight fascicles for the use of collators and students. The second step was the publication of the papers read at the conference in October, 1948. These have been published by Parvis and Wikgren with the title *New Testament Manuscript Studies* at the University of Chicago Press.

It is an exhilarating thing to see a project of such large dimensions come to life and to realize that we have the re-

sources in men of scholarly ability that will make possible its prosecution to a successful conclusion.

When that job has been completed, another will begin. This time a smaller number of scholars will do the job. The job will be to re-create more accurately the wording of the Greek New Testament on the basis of the evidence presented in the apparatus. This work may be begun book by book before the apparatus has all been published.

Again, when that job is completed, the translation of this new edition of the New Testament into the various languages of the world will be done for the benefit of a generation not yet born. Those who labor at textual criticism do so in the hope that others may enter into the fruits of their labor. The best New Testament will be read by our children.

Appendix

RULES FOR CHOICE

TO SUPPLEMENT the set of "canons of criticism" quoted from Tischendorf in chapter iv and Porter in chapter viii, those of Wettstein, Hammond, and Wikgren are quoted here. The student will find in Tischendorf's *Prolegomena* numerous examples of each of his rules. His deep-rooted distrust of text-types ("classes") has been justified by twentieth-century studies. We now agree with him that they are not homogeneous, not capable of clear-cut reconstruction, and therefore incapable of becoming building stones in the arch whose keystone is the original text. The reader will note that the two canons of internal criticism which we have used appear in every one of these lists. Since in the broad sense in which we have defined them they include all internal evidence (aside from errors), their general acceptance by workers in this field is not surprising. Among their champions are Léon Vaganay, F. C. Grant, M. J. Lagrange, and F. C. Burkitt, who shared Tischendorf's distrust of text-types. On one occasion Burkitt wrote: "It is easier, from some points of view, to reconstruct the original than some half-way house like 'the neutral' or 'the Caesarean' text, that contains some corruptions but not all."¹

1. "The Chester Beatty Papyri," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIV (1933), 368.

CANONS OF CRITICISM

WETTSTEIN

1. Between two readings, the one which is better sounding, or more clear, or better Greek, is not to be at once chosen but more often the contrary.
2. A reading which exhibits an unusual expression, but which is in other respects suitable to the matter in hand, is preferable to another, which though equally suitable, has expressions such as are not peculiar.
3. Of two readings, the fuller and more ample is not at once to be accepted, but rather the contrary.
4. If of two readings one is found in the same words elsewhere and the other is not, the former is by no means to be preferred to the latter.
5. A reading altogether conformable to the style of each writer, other things being equal is to be preferred.
6. Of two various readings that which seems the more orthodox is not to be forthwith preferred.
7. Of two various readings in Greek copies, that which accords with the ancient versions is not easily to be considered the worse.
8. The witness of the ancient Fathers of the Church has great weight in proving the true reading of the New Testament.
9. The silence of the Fathers as to readings of importance in the controversies of their own times makes such readings suspect.
10. The reading which is proved to be the more ancient, *ceteris paribus*, must be preferred.²

HAMMOND

I. Canons of External Evidence

1. The combined testimony of the earliest manuscripts with the earliest versions, and quotations in the earliest writers, marks an undoubted reading.

2. The above canons are quoted from Wettstein in C. L. Hulbert-Powell, *John James Wettstein (1693-1754): An Account of His Life, Work, and Some of His Contemporaries* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, n.d.), pp. 117-20.

2. In estimating the value of conflicting evidence, great weight must be given to the testimony of witnesses from localities widely separated from each other. Such testimony will outweigh that given by witnesses of one class, or coming from one locality, even though these may be numerically superior: and it can be satisfactorily met only by a counter consensus of witnesses from different localities.
3. It may be laid down generally that mere numerical preponderance of witnesses of any kind is of very little weight.
4. The relative weight of the three classes of evidence differs for different sorts of errors: therefore there can be no mere mechanical determination of the Text, by always taking the verdict of two out of three classes, or by any other similar short and easy method.
5. Disagreement of the ancient authorities often marks the existence of corruption anterior to them.
6. The ancient reading is *generally* the reading of the more ancient manuscripts.

II. Canons of Internal Evidence

1. *Brevior lectio praeferenda verbosiori*. This is Griesbach's first canon. It rests on the well-known tendency of transcribers, already before alluded to, to include in the text all marginal notes, glosses, etc., found in their copy; nothing, if possible, being omitted. This canon has additional probability in cases where the shorter reading is harsher than the other, or elliptical, or obscure; for then there is the possibility of the longer reading being an intentional alteration; or again, if there is in addition a variation between the readings of the codices, either in the phraseology, or in the order of words; or again, at the commencement of passages appointed as Church Lections. On the other hand, there are considerations which may sometimes cause a preference of the longer reading, e.g. if a homoioteleuton may have occurred; if the words omitted might seem to a scribe superfluous, harsh, or contrary to a pious belief; or if the shorter reading seem to be out of harmony with the writer's style, or devoid of meaning. But such considerations must be used with great caution.
2. *Proclivi lectioni praestat ardue*. This was first laid down by Bengel.

It depends upon the tendency of transcribers to alter (in perfect good faith, and fancying that they were doing a good work) something they did not understand into something which they did. It is of very wide application, but requires great circumspection in its use, for it may easily be overpressed. Among *lectiones arduae* will be included some cases of solecism or unusual readings, rare or irregular usages of words, hebraisms, substitutions of less definite for more definite expressions (but here great caution is needed), cases of want of connection, etc.

3. *That reading is to be preferred which will explain the origin of the variations.* Closely connected with this is another principle laid down by Tischendorf, that *a reading which savours of being an intentional correction is to be suspected, notwithstanding that it may be supported by a majority of the witnesses of one class.*
4. In parallel passages, whether quotations from the Old Testament, or different narratives of the same event, *that reading is prima facie to be preferred which gives a verbal dissidence, rather than a verbally concordant reading.*
5. *Those readings are to be retained which are characteristic either of the Hellenistic idiom, or of the style of the New Testament writers.* This principle looks to the cases of unclassical idioms, unusual modes of spelling, and other irregularities. Great caution is needed in applying it, for it is almost as possible that a scribe should alter the reading before him to a form of expression characteristic of his author, as that he should do the opposite.³

WIKGREN

1. The age of the text of a manuscript is more significant than the age of the manuscript itself.
2. Readings supported by ancient witnesses, however, especially from different groups, are generally preferable.
3. The reconstruction of the history of a variant is basic to judgment about it.

3. C. E. Hammond, *Outlines of Textual Criticism Applied to the New Testament* (6th rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), pp. 106-11.

4. The quality rather than the quantity of witnesses is more important in determining a reading.
5. Identity of readings, particularly in errors, implies identity of origin.
6. The shorter reading is generally preferable.
7. The more difficult reading is generally preferable.
8. Readings which bear the earmarks of stylistic or other improvements are suspect.
9. Readings which bear the earmarks of doctrinal controversy are suspect.
10. Variants combining the appearance of improvement with the absence of its reality are suspect.
11. The reading is preferred which best suits the author's characteristic tendencies.
12. The reading is preferred which best explains the origin of all other variants in a given passage.⁴

4. I. M. Price, *The Ancestry of Our English Bible: An Account of Manuscripts, Texts, and Versions of the Bible*. 2d rev. ed. by William A. Irwin and Allen P. Wikgren (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949).

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This text was for a long time the standard text of the Greek New Testament in England and to a lesser degree in America. The text volume itself has no critical apparatus, but the second volume gives an important discussion of methods and principles of textual criticism.

NESTLE, EBERHARD. *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico curavit*. 18th ed. by ERWIN NESTLE. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1948.

This is the best edition for classroom use. It is less expensive than any of its rivals. Its text is based on the agreements of Tischendorf, Weiss, and Hort; it is quite close to that of Hort. Its margin contains variant readings from many sources, including recently discovered manuscripts. The side margins contain cross-references and ancient and modern verse and chapter divisions. Old Testament sources are identified. Verse divisions are plainly marked. Most of the equipment of the Greek manuscripts is reproduced. The eighteenth edition reprints the seventeenth unchanged.

TISCHENDORF, C. *Novum Testamentum Graece . . . editio critica octava maior*. Leipzig: Heinrich's, 1869-72.

A critical text with a good apparatus, now antiquated by the discoveries of three-quarters of a century. The text is in general similar to that of Hort.

VON SODEN, H. *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*. Vol. I, Berlin: Glaue, 1902-10; Vol. II, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913.

Von Soden's theory and method have been severely criticized and generally repudiated by scholars. As a result, his edition has not been accepted. But his apparatus and his introductions contain material of value.

LEGG, S. C. E. *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum textum Westcotto-Hortianum*, Vol. I: *Evangelium secundum Marcum*; Vol. II: *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935 and 1940.

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INDEX OF PERSONS

- Ambrose, 58, 80
 "Apostolic Fathers," 55
 Augustine, 34, 66, 80, 82
 Ballantine, William G., 5
 Beatty, Chester, 48
 Bentley, Richard, 16
 Beza, Theodore, 14
 Blake, R. P., 108
 Bristol, L. O., 108
 Burkitt, F. C., 44, 111
 Callan, Charles J., 5
 Casey, Robert P., 108
 Clark, K. W., 108, 109
 Colwell, E. C., 53, 108, 116
 Connolly, R. Hugh, 80
 Cyril, Lucaris, 18-19
 Darden, Colgate, v
 Ecumenius, 58
 Enslin, M. S., 108
 Fenton, Ferrar, 5
 Filson, F. V., 108
 Freer, Charles F., 47
 Geerlings, Jacob, 108
 Goodspeed, Edgar J., 5, 41, 45, 46, 47, 83-84, 108, 116
 Grant, F. C., 108, 111
 Gregory, Caspar René, 41, 45, 53
 Griesbach, J. J., 20
 Hammond, C. E., 112-13
 Hatch, W. H. P., 108
 Hort, Fenton John Anthony, 35, 36 ff., 70, 117
 Hoskier, H. C., 44
 Housman, A. E., 76, 77
 Irenaeus, 32
 Jacquier, E., 53
 Jerome, 34, 51, 68, 80
 Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, 12
 Kenyon, Sir Frederic, 22, 41, 49, 53, 70
 Kilpatrick, G. D., 108
 Knox, Ronald, 4
 Kraeling, Carl, 108
 Lachmann, Karl, 21, 32-33, 35
 Lagrange, Marie-Joseph, 53, 111
 Lake, Silva, 108
 Luther, Martin, 32
 Lyonnett, S., 118
 McCasland, S. V., v
 McHugh, John A., 5
 Merk, A., 118
 Metzger, B. M., 108
 Mill, John, 19
 Montgomery, Helen Barrett, 5
 Nestorius, 58
 Origen, 58, 69
 Parvis, M. M., 108, 109
 Price, I. M.; *see* Wikgren, Allen
 Richard, James W., v
 Robertson, A. T., 53
 Robertson, J. A., 5

Sanders, H. A., 44, 49, 108

Saunders, E. W., 108

Soden, Hermann Freiherr von, 40

Souter, A., 53

Spencer, Francis Aloysius, 5

Stalin, 32

Streeter, B. H., 38, 41

Tatian, 41, 65

Tertullian, 34

Tischendorf, Lobegott Friedrich Konstantine von, 22-23, 32-33, 44, 105-6, 111, 117

Vaganay, Léon, 53, 82, 111, 116

Walton, Brian, 19

Westcott, Bishop, 35, 36

Wettstein, J. J., 19, 112

Weymouth, R. F., 5

Wikgren, Allen, 91, 108, 109, 114-15, 116

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- Barnabas, Epistle of, 24
- British and Foreign Bible Society, 17
- "Canons" of study
 - Bengel, 19-20
 - current, 75
 - Hammond, 112-13
 - Hort, 75
 - Porter, 73-75
 - Tischendorf, 32-33
 - Wickgren, 114-15
- Classics, errors in, 16, 49, 52
- Conjecture, 78
- Daniel, two versions of, 34
- Ecclesiastical Text, 15
- Genealogical method, 35-40
 - evaluation of, 49-50
- Harmonizations, 56
- Hermas, Pastor of, 24
- Judaism, 54
- Koine (Common) Text, 15
- Mixture in manuscripts, 60-61
- Old Testament, uniformity in copying, 54-55
- Received Text
 - attacks on, 21, 35-36
 - origin of, 1500-1633, 10-15
 - reign of, 1633-1831, 16-20
- Septuagint, 34
- Standard or Vulgate texts, 68-69
- Syrian Text, the, 15
- Text-types
 - African, 61
 - Alexandrian, 38, 39, 42, 43, 45, 70, 75
 - Byzantine, 15, 39, 42, 61, 70
 - Caesarean, 61
 - controls of, 67
 - Neutral, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 61, 69-70
 - origin of, 63 ff.
 - Received, 15, 17-18, 40, 43, 109
 - Syrian, 15, 39, 42, 43, 45
 - Western, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 72
- Theodotion's Version, 34
- Torah, 54
- Variant readings in manuscripts
 - cause of, 52-70
 - nature of, 26-31
- Vulgate
 - Greek, 15
 - Latin, 5, 7, 10-11
 - Syriac, 69
- Western Witnesses, 43-44

INDEX OF NEW TESTAMENT EDITIONS

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Bengel, 19 | Mill, 19 |
| Beza, 14 | Nestle, 117 |
| Complutensian Polyglot, 7-8, 12 | Soden, 40, 107, 117 |
| Elzevir Brothers, 10, 11, 13-15, 17, 18, 70 | Stephanus, 10, 12, 13-14, 16, 19, 70 |
| Erasmus, 8-10, 12-15, 18, 70 | Tischendorf, 22-26, 32-33, 105-6, 117 |
| Griesbach, 19 | Walton's Polyglot, 19 |
| Lachmann, 21, 32-33, 35 | Westcott and Hort, 35-40, 70, 117 |
| Legg, 117 | Wettstein, 19 |

INDEX OF NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| African, 20 | MS 33, 42 |
| Alexandrinus, 23, 42 | Montfortianus, 13 |
| Argos Lectionary, 47 | Occidental, 22 |
| Asiatic, 20 | Oriental, 22 |
| Beatty Papyri, 48 | Red Gospels of Ganjasar, 47 |
| Bezae, 23, 42 | Rockefeller McCormick, 45-47 |
| Claromontanus, 23 | Sinaiticus, 23-26, 42 |
| Ephraemi, 23, 42 | "Sub-Akhmimic" John, 46-47 |
| "Gangsters' Bible," 48 | Syriac Gospels, 42, 46 |
| Laudianus, 23, 42 | Vaticanus, 23, 38, 42 |
| | Washington Gospels (Freer Gospels), 42, 47, 61, 78, 79 |

INDEX OF NEW TESTAMENT PASSAGES

Matthew:

| | |
|---------------|--------|
| 1:21..... | 59 |
| 3:17..... | 28 |
| 6:13..... | 28 |
| 15:8..... | 57 |
| 16:1-4..... | 29 |
| 23:13..... | 29 |
| 24:15..... | 59 |
| 24:36..... | 57 |
| 26:27..... | 67, 71 |
| 27:16-17..... | 29 |
| 27:49..... | 57 |

Mark:

| | |
|------------------|--------|
| 1:1..... | 29 |
| 1:1-5:30..... | 61 |
| 1:2..... | 29 |
| 1:5..... | 27 |
| 5:31 to end..... | 61 |
| 7:1-4..... | 59 |
| 7:8..... | 60 |
| 8:34..... | 58 |
| 9:49..... | 29 |
| 10:21..... | 29, 58 |
| 11:2..... | 27 |
| 13:14..... | 59 |
| 16:9-20..... | 88 ff. |
| 16:16-18..... | 29 |

Luke:

| | |
|------------------|--------|
| 1:1-8:12..... | 61 |
| 2:14..... | 30 |
| 6:4..... | 30 |
| 8:13 to end..... | 61 |
| 21:38..... | 30, 80 |
| 22:17-20..... | 30 |
| 23:32..... | 58 |

John:

| | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 7:53-8:11..... | 30, 78 ff., 88 ff. |
| 7:36..... | 30, 80 |
| 19:29..... | 83-84 |
| 19:34..... | 57 |

Acts 15:28-29..... 31

I Cor. 13:3..... 31

Eph. 1:1..... 31

II Thess. 3:2a..... 82

Heb. 2:9..... 58

I John 5:7-8..... 13, 88 ff.

Rev. 13:18..... 31

INDEX OF NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATIONS

- | | |
|---|--|
| American; see Goodspeed | Knox, 4-5, 86, 87, 97 |
| American Revised Version 4, 67, 85, 87, 90 | Moffatt, 1, 5, 85, 87, 95-96 |
| Basic English, 6, 86, 87, 96 | Pre-Vulgate Latin, 66 |
| Centenary, 5, 86, 87, 96 | Revised Standard Version, 4, 67, 68, 85, 87, 92 |
| Challoner, 2, 4, 5, 86, 87, 98, 99 | Rheims Version, 4 |
| Confraternity, 5, 86, 87, 98 | Riverside, 5, 85, 87, 93 |
| English Revised Version, 4, 67, 85, 87, 91 | Spencer, 5, 86, 87, 93-94 |
| Fenton, 5, 86, 87, 94-95 | Twentieth Century 5, 67, 85, 87, 88 |
| Goodspeed, 1, 5, 67, 85, 87, 88 | Vulgate, Latin, 5, 7, 10-11, 68 |
| King James, 1, 3, 67, 71, 86, 87, 99 | Westminster, 1, 4-5, 85, 87, 89-90 |
| | Weymouth, 5, 67, 86, 87, 92 |